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The Psychology of German Defense

Psychology is at least as important an element in strategy as numbers or distance; and one can obtain a far truer picture of the psychology of the German defense by considering the map of Europe as Hitler has redrawn it than by looking at the prewar boundary lines which invariably appear in the newspapers. In the West, for example, that defense is being made on the basis that the Rhine is, in accordance with the old Nazi phrase, *Deutschlands Strom nicht Deutschlands Grenze* ("Germany's stream, not Germany's border") and Lorraine is a part of the Reich.

In this light the push of the Seventh Army for the Belfort Gap and General Patton's thrust across the Moselle are far more menacing than the penetration of the Westwall around Aachen. The two former thrusts have carried far deeper into what is considered holy German soil, and the main strength of the German force has been concentrated against them. The psychological factor is not the only one, of course; it seems that in the pursuit at Mons the Nazis lost a considerable number of the troops that were supposed to hold the lines around Aachen, with the result that that portion of the Westwall was very ill defended. The section has now become one of peculiar sensitivity, even though the break is a small one, for a slightly deeper penetration will break the hinge upon which the German army must swing back. With the landing of the air-borne troops there, that army is forced to fight on two fronts, both parallel to its line of retreat, and if the Nazis can extricate themselves without severe losses, they will deserve all the credit they have been handing themselves as great retreaters.

Trying to Hold Everything

But it is in the East that Hitler's psychology of abandoning no German soil shows most clearly. Strictly on military grounds, it would probably have been preferable to give up a good deal of East Prussia long ago. Hindenburg and Ludendorff did it in 1914 with marked strategic success, and at the present time, with Germany straining every resource to find more manpower, the retention of that long salient is a technical nightmare.

The position is perhaps still more obvious when one considers Hitler's boundaries in the Balkans. The logical line of defense, if the Germans intend to retain most of the Balkans, runs along the summits of the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps down to the Iron Gate of the Danube. The Carpathian passes seem to have been stoutly held; at least the Soviets have been unable to make an impression there. But the Transylvanian Alps were far less well defended, in spite of the obvious wavering of Rumania, and it was only after the Russians had broken through to Sibiu that we began to get reports of German troop trains rushing eastward with reinforcements to hold the line.

The Russians as Enemy No. 1

What line? A glance at the map shows very clearly: the Russians have been allowed to come along to almost the exact line of the Hitler frontier between Rumania and Hungary. At that point the defense is being made. In spite of rumors that German divisions are being withdrawn from Greece and the nearby islands, there has yet been no real evidence that the defense of Yugoslavia will not also be made. British

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planes are all over Greece every day and we can take it that if the Nazis really were moving out, the British would not be very long in filling up the vacuum.

This is to say that as the war looks this week the Nazis still believe they can defend what they consider as Germany; and they regard the advance of the Russians as a more serious menace to that Germany than they do anything from the West. They are probably counting on a combination of the weather, damage to seaports, and the deep fortified line on both sides of the Rhine as sufficient to hold up the Allied advance from the Atlantic during the fall and winter.

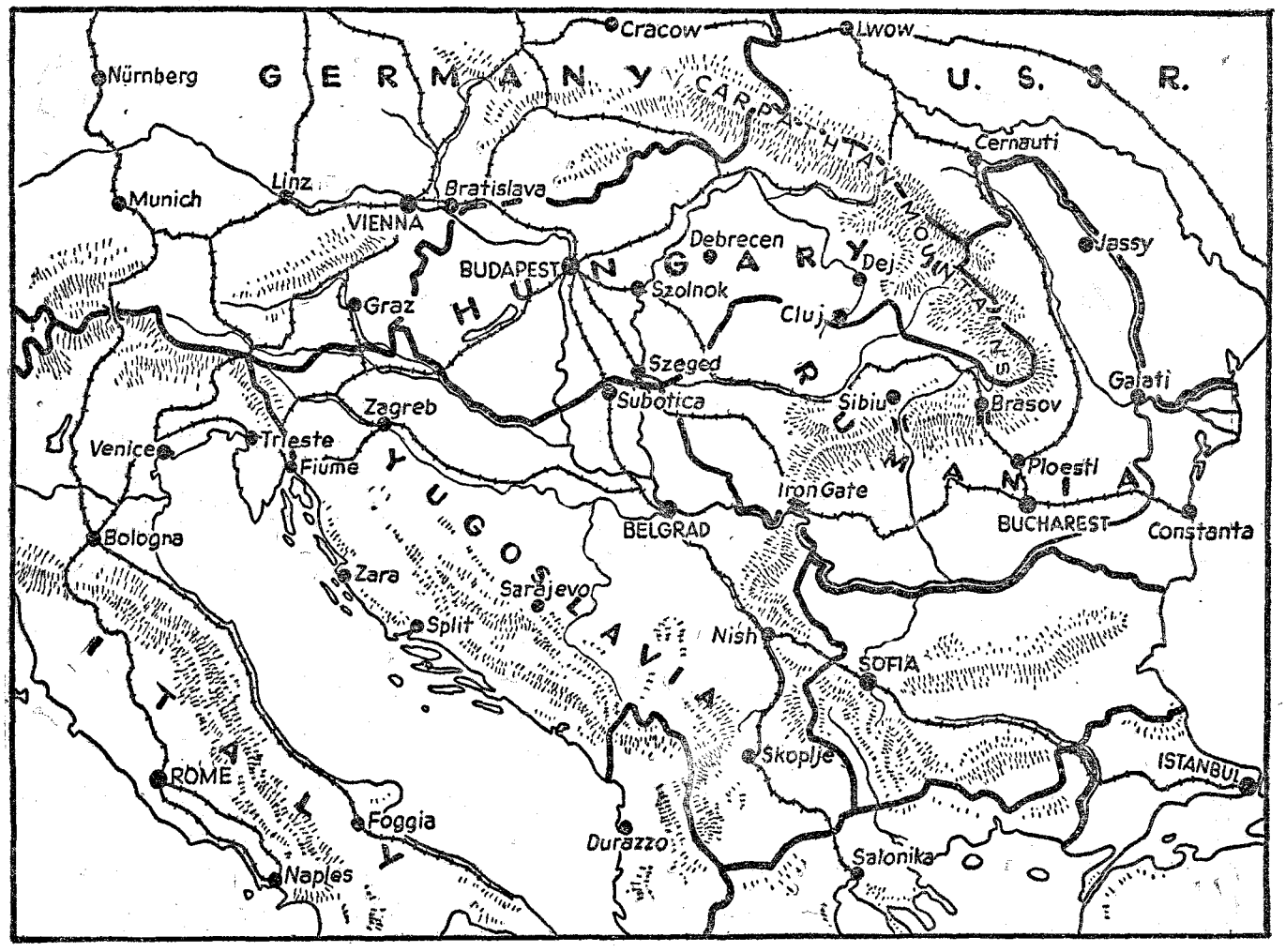
Japan's "Basic Sea Area"

A curious new phrase has cropped up in Japanese broadcasts—"basic sea area." It is defined as the land-locked sea area that the Japanese require for the existence of their empire. This area, in turn, is shut in by the Kuriles, the main islands of Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines and the Dutch Indies. Entrance to it at any point is through narrow straits, fairly easy to defend, and with their summer campaign the Japanese have gained control of all the coastal masses fronting on this area.

In connection with this phrase, it is worth noting that of all the ships attacked by Admiral Halsey's fleet in its recent operation, nothing outside this basic sea area was a commercial vessel above a thousand tons, and nothing outside it was a warship of any kind. This appears to represent the setting up of a Fortress-East on lines similar to Hitler's Fortress-Europe. Even the attack on the great base at Palau is, on this analogy, only another North African campaign, an effort against an outpost rather than an attempt to breach the main fortress.

A Special Section on Dewey

With this issue we publish a special section devoted to the presidential candidacy of Governor Dewey. As will be seen, our report on him is unfavorable. This is not because of any personal animus against the Governor; no one can doubt, in view of the record, that he has unusual abilities which brought him to national



The Campaign in the Balkans

The Germans are apparently making every effort to hold the borderline of Hungary as Hitler drew it. They have been able to stop the Russians at the Carpathian passes, but this method of defense is likely to prove expensive if the Soviets get through into the central plain at Szeged or work north to Dej. It is perhaps worth remembering that when Szeged fell to the Turkish advance in the sixteenth century, all Hungary followed soon after.

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prominence in a short time. Despite all the reservations that must be held against his work as District Attorney, he did more than anyone else has done to put the fear of the law into the hearts of the racketeers in New York City. We have found plenty of fault in the past with the administration of President Roosevelt, and if he is reëlected no doubt we shall continue to disagree with certain of his acts and policies. Taking him on balance, however, and taking Governor Dewey also on balance, we believe that the future promise of American life is far brighter and richer under Roosevelt, despite some faults, than it is under Dewey, with all the virtues that can conscientiously be ascribed to him.

Little News from Quebec

If anyone expected sensational news from the second Quebec conference between Roosevelt and Churchill, he was disappointed. Since the conference was supposed to be concerned with the specific parts to be played by the two allies against Japan after Germany's defeat, the reason for the lack of definite announcements is obvious. It was reaffirmed that Britain would throw all her force into the struggle, but few now doubt that she will. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the final strategic outlines of the campaign are not now defined. The really important unanswered questions were probably regarded as too ticklish to mention. What part, if any, will the Soviet Union play? What does Britain intend to do about India, Burma, Hong Kong? Does the Atlantic Charter have any meaning in the Far East? Are the Asiatic peoples to be liberated from any other imperialism than the Japanese?

Instead of asking any of these critical questions, Mr. Dewey chose to boost MacArthur for the top command, making the insinuation that the only reason he had not previously received it, or been given more supplies, was that Mr. Roosevelt had regarded him as a dangerous rival in the presidential campaign. The fitting and dignified answer from Quebec was that the area covered and the task undertaken was too big for any one commander in the field.

Mr. Dewey's Tour

Mr. Dewey's managers must be seriously considering whether his tour of the country was not a political mistake. Their original strategy was to be as quiet as possible, and collect votes among people who, for one reason or another, dislike President Roosevelt. While Mr. Dewey makes an occasional good point against the administration, as it is only natural that he should, his net impression is a steadily mounting one of charges he cannot sustain, or the revelation of ill considered judgments and a questionable attitude.

Mr. Dewey demanded a bigger share in the war for MacArthur, after having pledged that he would keep the war out of the campaign and after having promised that, if elected, he would avoid civilian interference with military matters. He charged that Mr. Roosevelt failed to prepare for the war, although the record shows that it was the Republicans in Congress who voted against Lend-Lease and almost disbanded the army only a few months before Pearl Harbor. He made the self-revealing charge that the date of the Quebec conference was set in order to blanket his campaign tour. He has done great harm by promising to suspend compulsory military service as soon as the enemy surrenders, and leave the policing of Germany and Japan to volunteers, who might be available in the necessary quantities but almost certainly would not. He attacked the Jackson Hole National Monument, laying himself open to Mr. Ickes' acid comment that this national monument was the work of Presidents Coolidge and Hoover, and of John D. Rockefeller Jr. He insists that Mr. Roosevelt was responsible for the depression, which began after Mr. Hoover had been in office nine months. Americans are usually ready to forgive a certain amount of loose talk and wild charges in the midst of a political campaign; but Mr. Dewey's managers should be warned that their candidate is rapidly exceeding the permissible allowance.

The Maine Election

The Maine election this month does not alter the general appraisal that the Democrats are still in the lead in the national presidential campaign. It is true that the Democrats cast barely 30 percent of the vote for Governor and congressmen—just as Gallup predicted—but a very light vote is probably the basic reason for this, the lowest percentage in many years. In 1936, when the total vote exceeded 300,000, the Democratic candidate for Governor received 43 percent of the vote. In 1940, with 50,000 fewer voters participating, the Democratic candidate received only 36 percent of the vote, and this year there was an additional falling off of 70,000 votes, to only 29 percent.

The Republicans can easily fool themselves if they seriously think the September elections in Maine foreshadow a similar result in November. In the first place, there has been a changing relationship between the September gubernatorial election results and the national results in November. Twenty years ago, a 30-percent Democratic vote in Maine in September meant close to a 30-percent Democratic national vote in November, but this year a 30-percent vote in Maine could mean more than a 50-percent Democratic national vote. In the second place, Gallup's success in measuring sentiment in the gubernatorial race justifies taking seriously his finding that 46 percent of the Maine voters are today in favor of Roosevelt. If Democratic strength in Maine bears the same relation to the national Democratic strength this year as

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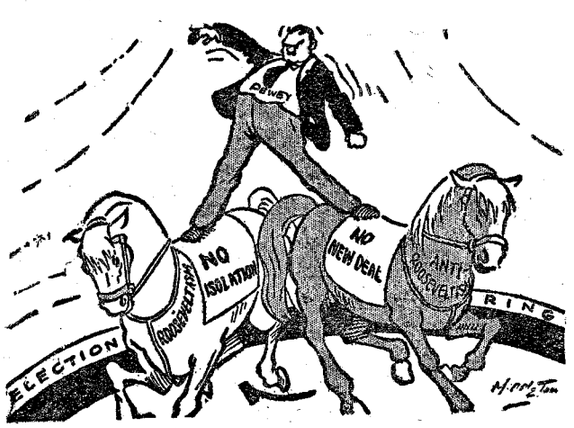
it did in 1940, Roosevelt will hold his present margin over Dewey. In fact, judging from late evidence from the Middle West and elsewhere, he may even increase it.

The important lesson from the voting in Maine is that it reveals balloting apathy in a local election that needs to be overcome in Maine and elsewhere before November.

Policy Toward Germany

The New York Herald Tribune on September 18 carried an interesting dispatch from a Washington correspondent, Don Cook. Mr. Cook denied, from official State Department sources, reports which he said had been in circulation that the Allies were planning to set up an advisory committee of democratic Germans in the United States, including former Chancellor Bruening, to assist in the formation of a new German government. The article quotes a State Department official as saying "it is absurd to think that we need the advice of any German on our policy." It further says, "The theory of decentralization rather than partitioning of Germany is favored in some State Department quarters and also is said to have Vatican support."

Assuming that this dispatch is reliable, it can only be received with mixed emotions. We are glad to have the explicit disclaimer of the idea that a new German government is planned in which important roles would be played by Bruening and—behind the scenes—Robert Murphy. It is disturbing, however, to see that the State Department apparently eagerly seeks the approval of the Vatican, whose ultimate purpose in Germany might be very far from our own. At the same time, extended military rule of the central government, plus autonomy for local government units which have been purged of Nazi elements, both of which are predicted in this dispatch, will at least give us time to consider and avoid rushing into irreparable mistakes. Everything depends, of course, on the kind of people in Germany with whom we deal, and the kind of spokesmen who do our dealing for us. Contrary to the State Department official quoted, there are some good democratic German refugees in this country to whom we might well listen.



Middleton in The Birmingham Gazette

The Rumanian Armistice

Russia's lenient armistice terms for Rumania are the result of sound statesmanship which knows that a Carthaginian peace is no peace at all. Rumania, already fighting against Germany, has to pay $300 million in reparations to Russia, restore all United Nations property and acknowledge the frontiers of 1940, by which Bessarabia and northern Bukovina were incorporated into the Soviet Union. In exchange, Rumania is to get back the part of Transylvania which the Germans, in the Vienna award of 1940, gave to Hungary. But more important than these terms are the long-range implications of the armistice. For the Russians have good reason to believe that Rumania, with no axe to grind, will be a better neighbor than if the armistice terms had been harsh, thus paving the way for new grudges.

The Surplus Mr. Clayton

Will Clayton has informed War Mobilization Director Byrnes that he will not continue to serve as Surplus Property Administrator. We hope nothing happens to change his mind. The cause of Clayton's decision is the refusal of the Congress to hand over to him full authority for the disposal of the many billion dollars' worth of government-owned goods and properties which will be declared surplus with the end of the war. Clayton was able to put his dictator bill through the House, but the wiser heads of the Senate prevailed when the question went to a conference committee. The decision was in favor of a three-man policy board instead of a single administrator, with other specific safeguards in addition. The facts brought forward by Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell and others to show the special favors big real-estate brokers had received under the one-man Clayton system were important in shaping the Senate position.

Wasting Good Material

Writing in a recent issue of The Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, Professor Andrew J. Green of Monticello College, Alton, Illinois, calls attention to what looks like a serious blunder on the part of the army. Until a few months ago, the army had what was called the Army Specialized Training Program. Under it, inductees were given severe classification examinations, and the best and most promising of them were sent to designated colleges for specialized training. Now, the army has suddenly canceled this program almost completely. More than 100,000 of these young men have been dumped into the ranks as private soldiers, apparently for immediate

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military service overseas. This seems to Professor Green —and we agree with him—a waste of valuable military material. These young men are of course not entitled to any sort of exemption or special safeguard, any more than any other young Americans. At the same time, it is only fair to recognize that they possess markedly superior qualifications of personality and intelligence: if they did not, they would never have been selected for the special training which they received. If they had gone into the army in the regular way, and a little earlier, they would undoubtedly in most cases have been sent to Officer Candidate School; but now, practically none of them will get that chance. In other words, they are being penalized because of having been specially selected. We find it hard to believe that the army now has so many men of superior abilities that it can afford to throw away 100,000 more by giving them a job for which any rank-and-file individual is quite competent.

The army is now sending large numbers of seventeen-year-olds to college for a few months before inducting them. These young men are in general on the same level of intelligence and ability as the former members of the ASTP. It will be interesting to see whether these, also, will be used, later on, as low-grade raw material, with no reference to their special abilities and special preparation.

Will Wages Be Thawed?

THE EFFORT of labor to gain wage increases commensurate with the rise in the cost of living, in spite of the wage-freezing imposed by the Little Steel formula, is of far more than casual significance. To the unions and their officials it signifies not merely an attempt to achieve a more adequate purchasing power, but a protest against a regulation which they believe has made them the victims of economic injustice as compared with the treatment of business and farmers in the war economy. The power and prestige of organized labor itself appear to be at stake, since the rank and file are asking why leaders who have coöperated with the administration in every respect, who have made no-strike pledges and have cracked down on absenteeism, are not able to extract this apparently justified concession.

The controversy has also assumed an immediate political importance. Having been in process of hearing and adjudication for months, it is likely to be decided about election time. Noting the irritation of labor with the administration, the Republican Party has declared in favor of revision of the formula. If by the first week in November an adverse decision has been rendered, or even if no decision at all has been made, Mr. Dewey is likely to win votes by this stand. But if on the other hand the unions' demands are granted, and there is the least excuse for attributing the result to presidential intervention, Mr. Dewey's supporters on the platform and in the press will seize the opportunity to denounce Mr. Roosevelt for having betrayed the consumers and having invited inflation in order to appease the labor vote.

It is therefore a matter of considerable moment that two panels of the National War Labor Board have just reported the results of their examination of the demand. Both panels were composed, like the Board itself, of employer, public and employee representatives. Their report makes no recommendations; it merely reviews the contentions in the light of the facts. Let us summarize briefly these findings in order to judge the justice and practicability of the labor argument.

1. *What Is the Little Steel Formula?* – On April 8, 1943, the President issued his "hold-the-line order" to halt inflation. This applied to both prices and wages. Under this order, increases of wage rates to compensate for the rise in the cost of living were limited to 15 percent above the rates paid in January, 1941. This percentage was the same as that shown for the rise in the cost of living between January, 1941, and May, 1942, by the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In issuing this order, the President stated that prices which had already risen above 1942 levels "can and should be rolled back." The evident intention was to permit wage increases equal to the rise in the cost of living. In so far as the latter exceeded 15 percent, the intention was to reduce the cost of living.

2. *Has the Rise in the Cost of Living Exceeded 15 Percent?* – The Bureau of Labor Statistics index now shows that the cost of living increased 25.1 percent between January, 1941, and July, 1944. This index is an average for large cities. "It does not show the full wartime effect on the cost of living of such factors as lowered quality, disappearance of low-priced goods and forced changes in housing and eating away from home." A committee of eminent statisticians, headed by Wesley C. Mitchell, has estimated that the actual increase is 28 or 29 percent, and somewhat more in small cities. Further additions would have to be made to reflect "necessary family expenditures resulting from involuntary changes in living habits."

3. *Have Steel Wages Increased More Than 15 Percent?* – Wage rates of steel workers are now 18.2 percent above the hourly wage for straight time received in January, 1941. Of this increase, however, 2.7 percent was ordered by the Board as a special "time equity," leaving about 15 percent to cover the increase in the cost of living. The report states that steel wages have thus been stabilized in accordance with the Little Steel formula.

Actual hourly earnings have increased more than wage rates by the hour or by the piece, which the Board has held down to the formula. The report

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states, however, that more than half of this excess is due to increased overtime, and the rest to incentive payments for greater production and shifts in employment from low to high-paying firms, regions and occupations. It adds that as overtime is reduced and workers shift back to peace conditions, a decline in such payments may be expected.

4. *Would the Increase Demanded Raise the Price of Steel?* – The object of wage stabilization is to prevent further increase in prices. If wages are raised, it is often argued, cost of production will rise proportionately, and so prices must be increased. The steel companies could, however, pay the wage increase demanded without raising their selling prices and still make bigger profits than before the war. In the four years 1936-39 they made 3.6 percent on their combined capital and surplus, while in 1943 they made 5.3 percent. If the wage increase were added to their costs, their net income would be somewhere between these two figures. This assumes that maximum production continues and that other things remain equal. If production declines, their labor costs would fall because overtime payments would diminish and the less efficient units would be shut down.

5. *Would the Increase Demanded Raise Other Prices?* – The only other way in which increased wages could raise prices would be through placing larger purchasing power in the hands of workers, who would thus be enabled to bid up prices in retail markets. The amount of goods for sale being limited, an increase of demand results in price boosts, unless other means are taken to prevent it from doing so. The report points out, however, that the Board has received no mandate to stabilize the workers' total purchasing power, but only their wage rates. The effect of purchasing power in stimulating inflation is curbed by other measures outside its jurisdiction, such as taxation, sales of war bonds, rationing and price-fixing.

It is true that the average annual earnings of steel workers rose 72.5 percent between 1939 and 1943, and of manufacturing workers in general, 74.4 percent in the same period. But, as the report might have added but did not, the greater part of these gains are due not to increases in wage rates, but to more hours of work and immensely greater output. Who would advocate that corporations and farmers are not entitled to enlarged income resulting, not from price increases, but from greater production and harder work? Measures to keep that kind of addition to purchasing power from inflating prices in the markets must of course be taken, but they should be general measures not directed at labor alone. Workers who receive comparable incomes are perfectly willing to pay the same income taxes levied against others. They have bought immense quantities of bonds. They are subject to the same rationing and support the same price-fixing. To keep on insisting that the prices they receive for what they sell shall be allowed to rise less than the prices they must pay for what they have to buy, produces in them a rankling sense of injustice. The report of the War Labor Board panels reveals that they have reason for this feeling.

Why Negroes Are Angry

REPORTS of increasing political unrest on the part of Negroes are disturbing, but not surprising. In spite of the fine work done by the Fair Employment Practice Committee and other federal agencies in assuring Negroes the right to work to which they are entitled as citizens of the American nation in arms, thousands of little known irritations, caused by racial prejudice and rarely reported in the daily press, are accumulating into one huge grievance. Jim Crowism in the army and labor unions is a black spot on the balance sheet of our democracy, but because of its public character it can be more readily combated than the numerous less known cases of anti-Negro crimes which remain largely unpunished.

Typical of these crimes and contributing to Negro disgust with the "white man," is the story recently told by J. Leo Hardy at a wartime conference held in Chicago by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Hardy was a Negro leader in New Iberia, Louisiana, who tried to obtain for himself and others an opportunity to serve the war effort better. The brutal treatment which he and other Negroes received from paid officials of the local government merely follows the common pattern of mob violence, which is initiated and defended in the name of states' rights.

Negroes in New Iberia had never been admitted to the local welding school, established in 1941. When city officials heard that a potential Negro trainee had written to the War Manpower Commission asking it to investigate, he was angrily rebuked, in the words of Leo Hardy, "for attempting to stir up strife when the broad-minded and liberal superintendent had done so much for the colored people of the parish." Finally, however, after a local branch of the NAACP had been organized and the FEPC had interceded, a welding school for Negroes was opened on May 8, 1944.

The hitch was that the Negro welding school was located in an area bordering on a white neighborhood. Protests about noise soon came in, necessitating closing the school at 10 p. m. and causing a sharp drop in attendance because the new hours conflicted with the regular work schedule of the trainees. Sensing the trick played on the Negroes, Hardy, as head of the local NAACP, notified the FEPC-WMC regional office in Dallas. From that moment he was a marked man. We quote from his affidavit:

> About 8:05 p.m. four deputies from the Sheriff's office drove by where I was standing, a block from my house.

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and stopped the car and told me to get in. They took me back to the Sheriff's office where all kinds of guns and rifles were.

A gang of the deputies began talking, saying they were going to kill me. One of them asked me where I wanted to to go. I told him to take me by my house to get some clothes (I was in my shirtsleeves.) He said, "Hell, no. Do you want to go east or west?" I told him to take me to Lafayette. Then the Sheriff seemed to go on a rampage. He began slapping me, then hitting me forcibly with his fists while two of his men were holding my arms. The Sheriff and one other deputy hit me all of the blows. The Sheriff kicked me two or three times. All of this beating and kicking was in the office of the Sheriff. Then after some pleading on my part, two of the deputies put me in a cell on the fourth floor of the courthouse building. I presume they kept me there about 40 or 50 minutes; then the night jailer, a Mr. Norris, called me and opened the cell door and I went with him to the elevator where the same deputy, Mr. Pourciau, had charge of the elevator. We went to the basement and then up to the surface to an automobile and they and two other unknown men carried me on a gravel road about a mile from New Iberia alongside the Southern Pacific R. R.

When they stopped the car, the deputy that was sitting on the back seat with me took hold of my necktie and led me out of the car and hit me three or four times very hard in the face. (He was about 6 ft. 2 in. and weighed around 225.) I was told to walk and to walk fast and if I was ever seen in New Iberia I would be killed.

At least three other Negro leaders were similarly beaten not long afterwards, and run out of town.

Incidents like these may drive some Negroes to vote for Dewey. They are more likely, however, to foster apathy of Negroes toward both parties and, consequently, toward the possibility of Negro-white coöperation. The need for the creation of a permanent FEPC would seem to be obvious.

That Dreadful Bureaucracy

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB has put out a leaflet entitled "The New Deal's Monstrous Bureaucracy," listing various government agencies and requesting members of the club to "ask their local papers to publish all or part of this information." The Republican Party itself has promised to reduce the federal bureaucracy, and this is one of its major themes in the current campaign. It may therefore be appropriate to examine a few of the figures pertinent to this "bureaucracy" and to ask the Republican Party just which "bureaucrats" they propose to dismiss.

As of the end of March, 1944, there were 3,286,000 federal civilian employees. Of these, 1,791,000 worked in army and navy field establishments—arsenals, navy yards, etc. Would the GOP fire them? Out of the remaining 1,495,000, 419,500 worked for the army and the navy in offices and as technicians here and abroad. Would the GOP dispense with these "bureaucrats"?

Of the remaining 1,075,500, 350,000 are postal workers, whose duties are, in part, to speed our letters and parcels to our troops abroad. Is that too many?

Of the remaining 725,000, 90,000 are employed by the Treasury as revenue agents, customs men and tax-return examiners. Are they unnecessary?

That leaves 635,500 "bureaucrats." Among them are federal employees in the Department of Agriculture (80,000), the OPA (58,000), the Department of the Interior (40,000), the Veterans' Administration (50,000), the Federal Security Agency (31,000), the Department of Commerce (29,500), the Department of Justice—FBI, prison officials and immigration inspectors (29,500), and 30,000 are workers who maintain the Panama Canal. Which of these does the GOP propose to abolish?

There remain 286,000 so-called "bureaucrats," who do the following things: They run the Tennessee Valley Authority, with its vast system of irrigation and power for war and peace. They operate the Selective Service system, the War Manpower Commission and the War Labor Board, by means of which our manpower is allocated between the military and civilian services. They handle the needs of war industry, through the War Production Board. They handle economic warfare against our enemies through the Foreign Economic Administration. They operate our Merchant Marine, do the government printing and keep the government's books. They operate United States psychological warfare and censorship, civil service, civilian aeronautics, the Labor Department, the State Department, regulatory commissions, the Federal Housing Authority and the Public Works Administration. Which of these would the GOP abolish? Perhaps it is time for the Republican Party to drop vague generalities and to state specifically, since it thinks the federal bureaucracy is too large, just where and how it could be reduced.

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A Journal of Opinion

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Who Will Win in November?

If the presidential election were held today, the Democrats would win by a handsome margin of electoral votes, though not so great a one as in 1940. The President would probably receive less than the 55 percent of the popular vote cast for him then. But even if his percentage were only 51 to 53 percent, which under normal conditions would not yield him the minimum of 266 electoral votes, it could mean a Democratic victory this year. As in 1940, there appears to be a Democratic sag in the Middle states, but the relative strength in electorally important Eastern and Far Western states tends to offset the general decline in the Democratic share of the popular vote.

What the actual results are likely to be next November is so much a matter of guesswork that we, like other analysts of political trends, prefer to leave them to the reader. One of the major questions is whether the European phase of the war will be over before the election and if so, what the victory over Germany will do to the present Democratic margin. Since we cannot help the reader to make the correct prediction as to the collapse of Germany and its impact on voters, we may try the next best—an analysis of the present relative strength of the two major parties.

The weight of evidence, based chiefly on the national polls and in part on the 1943 and 1944 local elections, indicates that the national Democratic-Republican balance has been stabilized at about 52 to 53-percent Democratic. In 1936 the Democrats received 62 percent of the two-party vote, and in 1940, 55 percent. The 1942 congressional-election results have been interpreted as equivalent to a presidential-election vote of 53-percent Democratic, and the 1943 and 1944 local elections, when allowance is made for the remarkably small participation, suggest that the 1942 balance has not been materially altered. The Gallup Poll for the past several months has found the country as a whole 51-percent Democratic.

The Elmo Roper Polls also indicate that the Democratic-Republican balance has remained stable through the first part of August. The latest Roper Poll published now shows that of those who have made up their minds, 53 percent are for Roosevelt.

When two nationwide polls differ, it is elementary statistical wisdom to accept neither, and assume that an average of the two is nearest to the correct figure. The Gallup record for 1936 and 1940 suggests that his present showing of 51-percent Democratic could fall short of the actual election results by as many as four points, for the Gallup Poll of August, 1936, was about 10 Democratic points below the final outcome, and the August, 1940, poll was about 4 points short. The Roper Poll of August, 1940, was a few points above the final result. If these polls are to be taken at face value, the most reasonable conclusion is that the country as a whole is now about 52.5-percent Democratic, and that if a substantial soldier vote were taken into account, the percentage might be a point or so higher.

Does a popular Democratic vote of 52.5 percent mean more than half of the 531 electoral votes are in the Democratic column? Normally it does not. On the basis of the six elections from 1916 to 1936 inclusive, our system of analysis shows that a Democratic percentage of 52 normally brings only 217 electoral votes into the Democratic column, and that a Democratic popular vote of 53 percent finds two additional important states in this column—Ohio and California—bringing the total of electoral votes to 277, or barely above the minimum required to win. In a war year, however, with a popular Democratic vote of 52-53 percent, the Democratic margin of electoral votes is likely to be substantially greater.

The effect of war is to bring about a regional cleavage in the popular attitude toward the administration in power. It is the kind of cleavage that in 1896 made the Intermountain and other Western mining states go nearly all out for Bryan on the silver issue and made the Eastern states, interested in the gold standard, go as violently against him. It is the kind of cleavage that made the Northeastern and other states with large Catholic groups in their population vote for Al Smith in 1928 and the Southern states, with anti-Catholic groups in their population, vote violently against him. In 1916, with a Democratic administration in power, the internationally minded Atlantic and Pacific Coast states were more Democratic than normal and the Middle states less Democratic. It was this regional shift that brought California into the Democratic column and converted what at first seemed to be a Hughes victory into a close win for Wilson.

In 1940, with a Democratic administration in power, the Eastern and Far Western states again went more strongly Democratic than they normally would have, and the Middle states went less Democratic. The regional shift was more marked in 1940 than in 1916, probably because the third-term issue was added to the isolationist sentiment in the Middle states. The net effect of that shift in 1940 was that instead of about 425 electoral votes, the normal number for a popular Democratic vote of 55 percent, Roosevelt won with 449. The same regional differences prevail today and may again bring certain Eastern and Western states into the Democratic column that would not be found there when the country goes less than 55-percent Democratic. Unless we understand this regional wartime shift, some state election results may surprise us.

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From our system of normal relationships between the national Democratic percentage of the two-party vote and the corresponding percentages of the individual states, we have computed for each state the extent to which the 1940 Democratic proportion (a) exceeded the normal expectation by three or more points, (b) fell short of it by three or more points or (c) was about in line. On the basis of the August Gallup Poll and other evidence we have made similar computations for 1944.

There were 14 states in 1940 which exceeded their normal Democratic percentage by three or more points. They are listed here, together with their corresponding deviations from normal as of August, 1944:

	1940 Election (U. S. 55-percent Democratic)	*1944 August Poll (U. S. 51-percent Democratic)*
Maine and Vermont	[+] 9	[+] 12
New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island	[+] 6	[+] 6
Connecticut, Delaware and Pennsylvania	[+] 4	[+] 5
Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee	[+] 5	[+] 2
Washington and California	+ 3	[+] 5

The New England states, particularly Maine and Vermont, gave the 1940 Democratic ticket unusual support, Maine and Vermont exceeding their normal vote by 9 points. This was undoubtedly due in part to the fact that there are larger proportions of voters of Canadian and British origin or ties in the communities close to the Canadian border. Among these 14 states this year, Maine and Vermont again show greater than normal support for Roosevelt. Note, too, that this year Washington and California also exceed their normal Democratic percentages by more than they did in 1940; but for the four Southern states in this group—Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Alabama—the relative shift is about three points less than in 1940.

There were twelve states in 1940, most of them Middle and Western, that fell short of their normal Democratic percentages by three or more points:

	1940 Election Poll	*1944 August Poll*
North Dakota, South Dakota and Nebraska	— 9	— 12
Nevada and Oregon	— 4	— 3
Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Indiana and Wisconsin	— 4	— 7
Oklahoma and Texas	— 4	— 9

North Dakota, South Dakota and Nebraska fell short of their normal Democratic vote in 1940 by as much as Maine and Vermont exceeded theirs, and this year appear to be falling short by an even larger number of points. In this, too, they resemble the tendency of Maine and Vermont in reverse. The two Southern states in this group—Oklahoma and Texas—averaged four points below their 1940 normals, and now average nine points below their 1944 normals.

It is interesting to find Oregon among this second group of states in which isolationism and anti-administration sentiment are known to be most pronounced, instead of in company with Washington and California. This, however, is repeating a characteristic that showed up in 1940 and in 1916. In 1916 Oregon went Republican, while California and Washington voted Democratic. In 1940 the Democrats carried all three Pacific states, but Oregon fell short of its normal by four points while California and Washington exceeded theirs by three. This year Oregon seems to be repeating more nearly its 1916 behavior. It would be interesting to investigate whether this tendency to vote against a wartime administration is related to the composition of its population or of its industries.

Eight states behaved normally in 1940 but reveal relatively more anti-administration sentiment in 1944 than the national situation warrants:

	1940 Election Poll	*1944 August Poll*
Maryland, Virginia and Ohio	0	— 3
South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi	[+] 1	— 8
Ohio and Idaho	— 1	— 3

In the group of four states showing an anti-Democratic average shift of eight points, South Carolina and Mississippi shifted more than Florida and Louisiana, and this seems to check the Democratic Convention indications that the Southern anti-Roosevelt sentiment that has developed since 1940 is stronger in South Carolina and Mississippi than in Texas, Alabama and Florida.

What do the foregoing facts signify as to the number of Democratic electoral votes if the presidential election were to be held now before campaign strategy has really gotten under way? On the basis of the normal behavior of the several states, when the national Democratic percentage is 52 to 53 percent, we would expect one of the closest electoral results in our entire history. But, taking into account the kind of regional wartime shift we had in 1940, 32 states would go Democratic, with a total electoral vote of 336, and 16 states would go Republican, with a total electoral vote of 195.

Several states would, however, nose into the Democratic column by a narrow margin of a point or so. These doubtful Democratic states would include such important ones as Pennsylvania, Ohio and Missouri, as well as Maryland and Oregon, with a total of 105 electoral votes. Any one of these states could win the credit for electing a President in a close election that is usually given to California for having elected Wilson in 1916.

It may be asked at this point why New York and New Jersey, both Eastern Atlantic coastal states, do

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not show up in the Democratic column. In 1940, New York and New Jersey voted about in line with the national average. Their populations are apparently sufficiently diverse so that pro-administration sentiment among certain groups is offset by unfavorable wartime reactions on the part of other nationality groups.

We thus have a situation two months before the election, of a small group of key states concentrated within a narrow doubtful margin. It is generally agreed that the course of the European phase of the war could be an important factor in altering the present balance. We need to add that the size of the total vote in these key states, and perhaps campaign strategy, could also swing doubtful states in either direction. At the risk of telescoping a complex political situation, it may be said that the real battleground is New York, Pennsylvania and one other state. The Republicans would have to carry not only New York but also Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts or Missouri to wipe out the present Democratic advantage. LOUIS H. BEAN

The Byrnes Plan

THE FIGHT for a program to prevent wide-scale postwar unemployment is over. The "ounce-of-prevention" advocates who have fought for a program that would guarantee security for war workers during the transition to peace have lost. The "pound-of-cure" boys who say that it is time enough to do something about unemployment when you are sure that you have it, have won. The recent announcement of War Mobilization Director Byrnes's reconversion plan makes this official.

During the months that Congress has debated the reconversion issue, a large majority of its members have made it clear that either they do not believe that there is any real danger of mass unemployment after the war in Europe is over or that they are not willing to do anything but talk about it. During those same months, big business and progressives have been carrying on parallel propaganda campaigns on the same question. Through its various mouthpieces, big business has harangued the nation about what free enterprise could and would do if it were freed from the shackles of federal wartime control. Take off all the controls, they said, and watch our steam. Labor, small farmers and progressives generally have been beating the drum for a continuation of the materials, manpower and price controls necessary for an orderly changeover to civilian production.

Jimmy Byrnes, though he was a Supreme Court Justice for a time, is basically a politician. Like the President, he guides his course in line with what seem to be the major pressures from public opinion. The reconversion program he has recommended is a do-nothing program, a rewrite of the Baruch-Hancock report of last year—clear evidence that the progressives have failed to educate public opinion to their way of thinking.

The business men who argue for taking off controls don't want a plague of unemployment any more than do the people who argue that the controls must be kept to prevent it. They know very well that their present position could not be maintained in the face of the sweeping dissatisfaction that would follow such a catastrophe. Their proposal that we push our total economy toward a leap in the dark is based on what other nations might call a typically American self-confidence, a belief that our country is so rich and our people so able that we can accomplish anything by main strength.

Byrnes's reconversion plan radiates this spirit. "Today America is stronger than ever before," his report proclaims. "The fear of timid people may temporarily retard our return to full production and full employment. But it will be only for a short time." And then the report falls back on another very American answer to trouble. Admitting that, regardless of the effectiveness of any plans for the transition from war to peace production, there will "temporarily be reduced employment" in some spots, most likely in government-owned war plants with no plans for civilian production, Mr. Byrnes announces proudly, "In order to meet this situation I have appointed a committee." Armed with faith in America and strong in the knowledge that we have a "committee" to guide us, we stand ready to do battle with unemployment.

Byrnes's report to the President on reconversion was largely drafted by John Hancock of Lehman Brothers. As has become usual with a Byrnes report, hazy possibilities are made to sound like going operations. Those unacquainted with what is happening in Washington would gather from a careful reading of the Byrnes report that policies and procedures to take care of the 40-percent cutback in outstanding war-production contracts which will follow the collapse of Germany are already fixed and working smoothly, that the adjustments required to make a smooth transition from strict production controls to no controls at all had been foreseen and planned for in the most minute detail. That is scarcely the case.

What will actually happen when the new system goes into effect is this:

The Controlled Materials Plan will be abandoned except for steel and copper for one additional quarter, and a new system of broad preference-band ratings will be substituted. This means little more than that

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military orders will get priority over civilian, and civilian-production preference ratings will be used only if things become too confused without them. The WPB can still issue directives to meet individual problems if it chooses.

Administrative machinery for obtaining the prompt clearing of war contractors' plants will be provided.

Operators of government-owned plants will be surveyed with a view to encouraging all of them to exercise their options on the properties, regardless of the broader monopoly questions involved. An effort will be made to find operators for all plants after the war.

Manpower controls will be abandoned.

The great need for an adequate program for unemployment compensation will be pointed out to Congress by the administration again, more strongly than before, in the hope of providing basic benefits of $20 per week for 26 weeks. The Byrnes report was especially forthright on this question in comparison with Congress's ridiculous stand against voting benefits now for fear the action would be considered political!

We shall return to the 40-hour week to spread the work, except in war-production and some tight labor areas.

The retraining and reëmployment program will advance, it is hoped, beyond the planning stage where it has been stuck for months.

Federal work projects will be kept in mind as a remedy if unemployment breaks out.

Price rises will be authorized in many reconversion cases.

Excess-profits taxes will go, with the end of the war.

Rationing will be abolished a bit at a time, but as rapidly as possible.

Congress will be asked to pass a realistic program for agriculture in place of the pork-barrel legislation it has enacted during the war.

The maintenance of our present level of employment will be our goal. (Any awareness of what will be required, beyond our present level, to assure full employment is entirely absent.)

The Baruch-Byrnes reconversion plan is politically realistic. It is now clear that a general resolution establishing an Office of Demobilization and Reconversion, with no special duties imposed, is the most Congress will approve this term. The Byrnes plan is a blueprint for general operation under such a general mandate. To do anything much more specific or detailed would require legislative sanctions which Byrnes knows he can't get.

The plan is sound politics from another point of view also. Since before this campaign got under way, political experts of both parties have agreed that postwar employment was the major vote-getting issue for '44. President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey have both spoken out on this vital question and will do so again before November 7. In his Economic Bill of Rights, the President called for "the right to a useful and remunerative job." In his acceptance speech, Dewey called for "a real chance for every man and woman to earn a decent living at a decent wage." On this, as on practically every other issue, Dewey's strategy is to criticize the administration's policy and say as little about his own as possible. Prior to the announcement of the Byrnes plan, following substantially the same line Acting WPB Chairman Krug had laid down a few days before, Dewey had been getting a fair response to his charges of restrictive federal controls on industry and on people. The Byrnes plan, calling for the removal of most wartime controls at the end of the European war, was a great embarrassment to Dewey, especially with the business community. Byrnes had pulled one of the planks of his platform right out from under him. And Dewey couldn't protest.

But while the timing of the Byrnes plan is politically beneficial to the Democrats, and while Byrnes was simply being realistic in offering a program which Congress and articulate public opinion would support, the kind of leap in the dark it calls for is terrifying to those who understand what is at stake.

Brookings Institution has estimated that 17,800,000 people will face demobilization within two and a half years following the defeat of Germany. Of this number, it estimates that 9,500,000 will come from the armed forces, 6,900,000 from industry and 1,400,000 from government war agencies. During that time, our war expenditures will fall from the present peak of $8 billion per month to perhaps $1 billion per month. The experts estimate that after the war 58 million Americans will want to work. That means that some 12 million more jobs will have to be provided than have ever before been available in this country. Up to now, our best job years have been 1929, 1937 and 1940. And only about 46,000,000 had jobs in each of those years.

That is the size of the problem. What is called for is the fullest possible use of this country's productive capacity. The result would be the highest standard of living the world has ever known. The alternative is unemployment and depression at home and a great loss of prestige for democracy in the whole world.

The problem is in some ways even more difficult than was the conversion of our industry from peace to war. When the government originally asked various plants and industries to switch over to the manufacture of war goods, there was a generous profit in it for them if they agreed, while several kinds of bludgeoning were possible if they refused. The government was ready to pay for conversion costs and to buy all that they could produce for an indefinite period.

It will be tough for most manufacturers to decide quickly or accurately what they should produce after

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the war, or how much or when. The volume of goods consumers will need to buy to provide jobs for all the people who want them is so far above anything we have ever known in peacetime that even the experts will have to guess a good part of the time. To keep things in balance, consumers will need to buy 50 percent more goods than they ever bought before. The Byrnes plan, along with most other reconversion analyses, banks a great deal on the "pent-up demand for goods" which, he says, "will come from a people who have the money with which to buy them." But experienced production analysts like Robert Nathan point out that "accumulated demands are confined primarily to durable goods and construction" and "rates of production in these categories cannot quickly rise to heights far above the record levels of 1940. . . . Despite huge accumulated savings, the United States may slide from transitional unemployment into a serious depression."

Despite the high stakes and the tremendous risks involved, the Byrnes plan has quickly won amazing popularity. The conservative forces in the War Production Board who formerly followed Charles E. Wilson of General Electric agree with "Cap" Krug's interpretation of the Byrnes policy. They are especially pleased with that section of the program which accepts their idea that competing units of the same industry should be released for civilian production simultaneously when practicable. Small-business spokesmen are friendly toward the Krug-Byrnes formula now, although not so long ago they were standing with labor for the retention of controls during the transition period. They explain that they have changed their minds because they believe that small business will have a better chance of grabbing off a share of postwar activity in an uncontrolled market than it would have under any system of controls administered by the big-business men who now control the WPB.

But small business at the same time shares labor's skepticism as to the basic assumption of the plan, namely, that the supply of raw materials and components after the end of the European war will be large enough to meet the needs of all producers. It is impossible for those outside the war-production program to know the real facts. Some experts who know the methods the WPB is using to arrive at its conclusions are the most skeptical of all. Nevertheless, the only test which can be applied is the progress of events. The flaw in the progressives' fight to date has been our failure to educate the public as to what may be in store for us. This is the job ahead.

Washington HELEN FULLER

Russia and Her Neighbors

On September 6, the day after Russia's declaration of war against Bulgaria, the Moscow radio urged the Bulgarian people to rise against their country's "ruling clique" and to "take fate into their own hands." No such appeal has been addressed to the people of Finland in recent months. On the contrary, writing in the May issue of the authoritative Soviet journal, War and the Working Class, Professor B. Stein defended the Soviet Union's policy of not asking unconditional surrender in the Finnish negotiations. Similarly, when Soviet troops first invaded Rumanian territory last spring, Foreign Commissar Molotov promised that Russia would not interfere in any way with the political, economic and social life of Rumania.

In the Polish question the Soviet government is pursuing an altogether different policy. Here the Russians seem intent on forcing a political decision regarding Poland's future internal structure without much heeding the claims of the Polish Government-in-Exile or consulting the Polish people. With the Czecho-Slovakian Government-in-Exile, on the other hand, satisfactory arrangements for its return to the homeland have been made long in advance. In the once troublesome Yugoslav and Greek situations, again, the Soviet Union took the lead among the great Allied powers in supporting the popular liberation movements of these countries and bringing about basic changes in the composition and policies of their exiled governments which can only be considered salutary. What is the Soviet Union's motive for these, on the surface, so widely varying attitudes toward its neighbors?

The final aim of Russia's foreign—or better, security—policy is, as it has always been, the preservation of peace for the purpose of guaranteeing the continuance of Soviet socialist construction in a capitalist world. While Russia has often changed the means, the end has always been the same. Today Russia's security policy moves in three mutually complementary, concentric circles. The inner circle consists of a well armed, well prepared Soviet army, ready at any moment to repulse a potential invader. This military circle is to be reinforced by a territorial circle of friendly neighbor states. The whole is to be held together by a giant diplomatic circle, founded on agreement with the great powers and a world safety organization that will include all nations.

No conflict is felt by the Soviet government to exist among these military, territorial and diplomatic levels on which Russian security policy is conducted. But professional Soviet-baiters and monopolists of anti-Soviet sentiment, unable at present to attack Russia as a military power or as a diplomatic partner in the struggle

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for peace, are increasingly seizing upon her alleged unilateral actions with regard to her neighbors, to muddy the waters of mutual understanding. What are the facts?

It is not true that the Soviet Union is dealing with its neighbors without informing and consulting the United States and Great Britain. Last spring, when Rumania sent Prince Barbu Stirbey to Cairo to win favorable British and American armistice terms and diplomatic support against Russia, his mission failed because of Soviet-Anglo-American consultation. Rumania was forced, in July, to dispatch Constantin Visoianu, a left-wing democrat and ex-secretary to former Foreign Minister Nicolas Titulescu. Visoianu was empowered to open discussions with the Soviet Union as Rumania's principal enemy.

Similar efforts of the short-lived Bulgarian governments under Premiers Ivan Bagrianoff and Konstantin Muravieff, both anxious to jump off the sinking Axis ship, also failed. For the Anglo-American powers deferred to the Soviet government, which was exerting pressure, first diplomatic and then military, to assure in Bulgaria the establishment of a pro-Allied regime that could be trusted.

Mr. Hull, speaking for the American government, has repeatedly praised the Soviet Union's moderate policy with regard to Finland. It is quite likely that Soviet moderation in this respect was a concession to American public opinion. Even in the heated Polish controversy, which could easily become a major point of friction between Russia and the Western powers, some agreement seems to exist. Speaking in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944, Mr. Churchill declared that he sympathized with the Russian position and that he did not feel "that the Russian demand for reassurances about her western frontiers goes beyond the limits of what is reasonable and just."

If there is any justifiable criticism of Soviet policy toward the neighboring countries where she considers her interests as paramount, it should certainly be directed not against the Soviet Union alone, but against the kind of "sphere-of-influence security system" which is now apparently being built by all the great powers, including Britain and the United States. However, even critics of this nuclear system will admit that in the absence of an effective world organization it is the only alternative for maintaining peace in the next few years. Moreover, there is a possibility that it may grow into a more comprehensive international organization. The Dumbarton Oaks conference points in that direction.

The realism that has characterized Russia's foreign policy since the Moscow conference of almost a year ago continues in her dealings with the surrounding states. Soviet policy in these countries is based on keen insight into the possibilities which their internal political conditions permit. The only question always asked by Russia's foreign-policy makers is: what political forces in these countries will guarantee friendly relations with Russia in the postwar world? This pragmatic test explains the great differences in her attitude toward Finland, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria.

In Rumania, for instance, the Soviet government was ready to deal, after the ouster of the fascist regime of Ion Antonescu, with a national coalition government which is a strange melange of feudal reactionaries, conservatives of the old ruling class and softened revolutionaries. Headed by a conservative army general, Constantin Sanatescu, the new Rumanian government includes Peasant Party leader Juliu Maniu, the liberal Dinu Bratianu, the Socialist Constantin Petrescu and the Communist Lucretiu Patrascanu. Why this weird alliance, headed by a Rumanian Badoglio?

Although no other Balkan country is riper for social revolution than Rumania, the organized Left is surprisingly weak. An exclusively leftist regime would not assure that internal stability, prerequisite for friendly relations, in which the Soviet Union is primarily interested. The non-fascist reactionaries and conservatives, on the other hand, hope to ensure their survival and make themselves acceptable to the USSR by subscribing to the platform of the previously underground National Democratic Bloc, which has now become the official program of the Sanatescu government.

While the coup against Antonescu and the creation of the coalition regime in Rumania was the job of a small clique, with no popular participation, the overwhelming majority of Bulgarians have long opposed the pro-Axis policy of their fascist taskmasters and have sought to put an end to fascism in their country. A powerful left-wing Fatherland Front, composed of the strong left wing of the Agrarian Party, the Communist Workers' Party, the Republican Officers' League (Zveno) and other progressive groups, has been very active in the past year, organizing anti-fascist demonstrations in all major cities, sending out partisan guerrillas against the Germans and formulating a democratic future for Bulgaria.

Fathered by Soviet diplomatic and military pressure when Bulgaria's ruling circles attempted to save their skins by declaring a specious "neutrality," the new Bulgarian government is genuinely leftist and popular. Premier Kimon Georgieff and War Minister Damian Velcheff are members of the Zveno, the pro-Soviet officers' organization. Nicola Petkoff, Minister without Portfolio, is a left-wing Agrarian leader. Other ministers, like Petko Stoyanoff and Petko Stainoff, are well known liberals. Of the new regents, Todor Pavloff is an old Communist, and Venelin Ganeff, a professor of constitutional law, is a convinced republican. This government was fostered by the Soviet Union not because it is leftist, but because it has the support of the traditionally pro-Russian Bulgarian people. Hence it promises to be able to stabilize the country's internal

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political situation and thus lead the way to firm post-war friendship with the Soviet Union.

A solution similar to those reached in Rumania or Bulgaria seems impossible in Poland. The exiled Polish government of Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, with British blessing, recently made some concrete and quite reasonable proposals for the reconstitution of the cabinet, providing equal representation for the Peasant, Social Democrat, National Democrat, Christian Labor and Polish Workers' (Communist) Parties. But it is unlikely that this suggestion will satisfy Moscow. With only one-fifth of the cabinet posts held by the Communists, its composition would not guarantee, from the Russian point of view, a consistent pro-Soviet policy.

It is more likely that Moscow will continue to support the Polish Committee of National Liberation, even if it has only small popular backing at the present time. It may well be that the Committee will win out in the popularity contest with the exiled government. It has already begun breaking up the large estates to provide peasants and agricultural workers with farms of about twelve and a half acres each. Frankly a puppet government, it could count on Soviet intervention in case of internal unrest.

Sponsorship of a puppet government in Poland is an alternative from which Moscow, unembarrassed by democratic scruples, will not shrink. This was amply demonstrated by its refusal to come to the aid of the Polish underground uprising in Warsaw. The Soviet offensive may have been stalled before Warsaw, but aid by air might have been possible. Regardless of whether the Soviet refusal to support the underground is morally right or wrong, it emphasizes Russia's determination to have her own way in Poland.

In contrast to Poland, where the leftist movement is deeply split into pro and anti-Soviet factions, Russia was willing to support the leftist liberation movements of Yugoslavia and Greece because they are almost entirely united and pro-Soviet. Her action, subsequently followed by the Western powers, has contributed immeasurably to avoiding protracted civil war in these countries. With the reorganization of the Yugoslav cabinet under Ivan Subasich, and with the entry of representatives of Greece's National Liberation Front (EAM) into the government of Premier George Papandreou, complete harmony has been established between the resistance forces at home and the exiled governments. Moreover, the danger that these countries might become pawns in the game of power politics has been greatly reduced.

Russia's policy toward her neighbors, on the surface so confusing, is fundamentally consistent. The guiding axiom of that policy is to bring into power a friendly government, regardless of whether it is a "Badoglio" regime as in Rumania, a leftist cabinet as in Bulgaria, a puppet government as in Poland, a popular coalition of radical and democratic forces as in Yugoslavia and Greece, or a parliamentary democracy as in Finland. The second axiom is to back up these friendly governments to the hilt and with the single-mindedness of purpose that has always distinguished Soviet foreign policy.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

A Salient of War

In time's unconscious shadow and return,
Turning its flames impartially through boys,
Cathedrals and green seas, our only sun
Contrives to shepherd us in days of love
And nights of music full as heart will bear.
Waking, walking through those early palaces
The frost erects among familiar branches,
We know by small traditions how the dark
Is spooling in its net the single spears
Of palms, the flashing tips and blue plateaus
Of ice, the soldier's memories of home.

This incident of war that sifts our will
And pulls apart the wide community
Of human warmth, must war against itself.
Its purpose has no parallel on hillsides
Melting the sense with tangled arms of foam,
Nor in this harrowed century where men
Like years throw off their orchard wreaths
To take the holocaust and, ultimately, love.
Because our memories are mutual,
The world is webbed with veins, and moves
Below its surface like a beating heart.

Not Plato in his universal jail,
Nor glum Napoleon, Emperor of Snow,
Escapes the fine equation so long joined.
The balance is much tried; our records tell
How the excellent corrupt Marquis, the Saint
With sparrows on his fingers, conquistadors
To margins of the mind that blaze or clap
The senses in a cold paralysis,
Even the physicians with mechanical third eyes,
Have all come back. In such rich agony
Our skeletons and embryos embrace.

The sun survives, and many definitions
Meaning wonder, meaning more than words
May say. The sea is one, and when we sleep
We sleep upon those shores where darkness is
Discriminately wary of our need
To make, of what we know and wish, our dreams.
In the great equity of daylight and dark,
There will be space for many errors more,
And lives struck down, and nations sold in fear;
The burning years, like letters overseas,
Make splendid our impossible desires.

JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN

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Washington Notes

The Conference at Quebec

THIS USUALLY SEDATE Washington department moved bag and baggage last week to Quebec. One bright morning I found myself practically taking part in the conversation between Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt, so closely did the pressure of photographers behind push me toward the President's open car. It was an unforgettable scene. The majestic St. Lawrence flowed alongside, while across the way towered the cliffs that Wolfe scaled to reach the Plains of Abraham. Overhead was the cloudless sky. And here were the two great English-speaking leaders—friends cordially greeting each other and describing the state of their health.

Mr. Roosevelt waited in the open car with eager expectancy. He is a big man with a big face. He wore a blue suit, natty bow-tie and straw hat. "Eleanor's here!" he said. It was a landed gentleman meeting a valued friend at the station for a week-end. There was a holiday touch in the bracing air. The men looked happy, confident, victorious. Yes, and affectionate. I have thought about it and I guess that is the word. . . . Up on the parade ground a few minutes later I saw MacKenzie King walking between Mrs. Roosevelt and white-haired Mrs. Churchill. They are both tall, he short. They loomed over him. He looked like a middle-aged small boy between aunts.

Mr. Roosevelt was quite conscious, of course, that the conference kept his picture on the front page, along with Mr. Dewey's. There was some domestic politics in the affair. Through Steve Early, Mr. Roosevelt met the Republican congressional charge that the trip to Hawaii had been a battleship junket. It was presented to reporters at Quebec as a necessary prelude to the meeting with Churchill. Very likely it was. Early found some hundred American reporters among the 150 covering the parley, and used the opportunity to present Cordell Hull's comment on cartels. Never was there a better illustration of the publicity advantage which an incumbent president has in a campaign over his adversary. Mr. Dewey has to make a speech to make news. Mr. Roosevelt locked himself up in the old Citadel, a-top Quebec, and the world press carried speculative stories about him the whole time. Yet I think it is fair to say that Mr. Roosevelt did not abuse his opportunity and that on the whole the candidate was kept well under cover. I have a suspicion that Mr. Roosevelt strongly believes he is going to be reëlected and that his good behavior is partly due to lack of temptation.

The real secrets of a military conference do not leak out. There was a greater atmosphere of confidence around this one than any other of the seven or eight since the day Roosevelt met Churchill in a landlocked Newfoundland harbor before America entered the war. I believe Mr. Roosevelt likes conferences. I believe he would have loved meeting Josef Stalin at that Fairbanks, Alaska, parley in the summer of 1943 which never came off because Stalin had to stay and run his victorious armies. Instead there was Teheran in November. The clear implication was left at Quebec that there would be a new three-power Teheran—or Fairbanks—at no distant date, with Stalin present. Whatever Pacific campaign plans were laid at this latest meeting will be revealed in the months ahead; the military news was scarce.

The best story of this conference really related to that earlier one held last year in Quebec. It seems that when the delegates and staffs had all cleared out, two French-Canadian soldiers were looking through a book left by the officials and discovered that they held in their hands the date of D-Day, and all the plans for it! The horrified officials warned them of dreadful penalties if they breathed a word, and they were transferred to Washington, I believe, to get them away from friends and families. Their names were Major Gernaey and Sergeant-Major Couture. The story was given out here by the officer commanding the military district and its release caused almost as much irritation among Candian authorities as if the original secret had been revealed. At least that was the impression of newspaper correspondents. Messrs. Gernaey and Couture were given British Empire Medals for keeping their mouths shut and apparently some of the army did not feel that was sufficient cause. In any event, the two gentlemen were back at Chateau Frontenac guarding the new conference, having created one of the really amusing yarns of World War II.

A by-product of Quebec for some Washington correspondents is the discovery that Canada is quietly passing postwar social legislation little less than revolutionary by American standards. On August 1 the Commons, without dissent, established a family allowance system for all Canada, to take effect next July 1. Such a proposal by Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal would leave American newspapers hysterical over "socialism," but while America swings Right, Canada and the rest of the world seem to be moving steadily Left. In brief, the Canadian scheme is this: poor families, who pay no income tax, now get no state aid for child dependents. This of course is equally true in the United States. There are 3.5 million children under 16 in Canada, in 1.5 million families. More than half of these families benefit in whole or in part from income-tax deductions. But the poor families, with most children, do not.

Canada will now make a straight cash donation, disregarding the question of need, to equalize matters. The monthly scale is $5 for children under six, graduated up to $8 a month for children from 13 to 16. The rate falls $1 a month for the fifth child and $3 a month for the eighth and all additional children. The cost to Canada is estimated at $200 million, which, on an equivalent United States population basis, would be $2 billion.

A measure of present atmospheric difference between Canada and the United States is that MacKenzie King, whom nobody regards as a dangerous radical, to say the least, quietly proposed this sweeping reform and that it was put through the Canadian legislature without major opposition. Besides aiding child welfare, Mr. King calmly declared it would contribute "to a healthy redistribution of the country's wealth," would spread the burden of child maintenance among the people of Canada and, on the economic side, would help to prevent depressions by supporting mass purchasing power.

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These are the very arguments, of course, which make conservative congressmen—the Tafts, Byrds, Tydings—almost apoplectic. It is a little breath-taking for the correspondent, just at first, who gets out of the Washington backwater into Canada and the world trend.

Quebec T. R. B.

Good Intentions

The Day Will Come, by Leo Birinski. National Theatre, September 7, 1944.

THE NEW PLAY about Hitler and the Jews has received a friendly press because of its honest and serious intentions. It has been quietly placed as well meaning but uncertain, often dullish and rambling, not often written with any power, and therefore nothing to put your hopes on. The venture should not be passed over unnoticed, however, because it is an effort to deal with passionate human matters and to bring into the theatre a vital substance and militancy of approach that is healthy and right for art and its functioning.

The central figure of the play is a venerable Jew about whom there is also the implication of the ageless and the prophetic. The scene of the story is a Russian village from which the people flee at the news of the Germans' arrival and orders to burn and evacuate. Avrum David remains. The Prussian generals try to use him as a means of undermining the Führer's position. Hitler arrives (in the third act), orders a general's death, etc., and confronts the Jew. He is told that Moscow will be his ruin and that he himself will suffer some of the agonies he has brought upon the Jews. He raves and so on, as usually depicted.

It is obvious that such subject matter requires great force, intensity and significance in the writing, in the whole dramatic pattern and in the character creation. If such a thing had happened in "The Day Will Come" we should have on our hands not only a profoundly important event on our harassed stage, so vacuous and uncertain, but also a badly needed reëstablishment of the link between the theatre art and life.

Mr. Harry Green, who has a considerable past in the films, in the legitimate theatre and in vaudeville, is both the producer and the hero of the play. He gives a creditable performance in a role, not profoundly written, where the dignity and prophetic grandeur call for an actor like Sonnenthal—long since dead in his native Austria—and the lyricism and intensity of suffering call for—alone out of our entire theatre—Jacob Ben Ami.

Mr. Brandon Peters plays Hitler with a good deal of stage effectiveness, taking Hitler at a certain fabulous and monstrous angle that is still a matter of conjecture to the world. Nostradamus, as was almost inevitable, is drawn upon for prophetic and racial implications. It has by no means been proved, however, that Nostradamus was a Jew, though one tradition has it that he came of an ancient Jewish family long since converted—at any rate he was an ardently professing Catholic who escaped all molestation from the Church. There are, I believe, three allusions in Nostradamus to Hister, the anagram for Hitler, two of which might refer to the old name for the Danube, but the other would seem applicable only to an individual. He has that individual ending up in a cage, prison. Since Nostradamus, in the first edition of the "Centuries," 1555 (some of them available in facsimile reprints), predicted by name a sizable number of persons and their actions, there is no reason he should not predict Hitler as well. In his time and long after he was at least regarded as a literary genius, a manifestation sorely needed in this new Jewish theatre fable. STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

Governor Thomas E. Dewey left to John Foster Dulles . . . today the task of attemping to reach a meeting of the minds with Wendell L. Willkie on international security problems while he turned his attention to the vote-geting aspects of the presidential campaign. – *AP dispatch from Albany.*

"The PAC is employing Nazi tactics by urging that pupils in the California grade schools be taught trade unionism," said Miss Marion E. Martin, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee. – *From The St. Louis Star-Times.*

The fact is, of course, that no President, including Roosevelt, ever has been indispensable in the country. The one who came nearest to it was Washington. Probably Lincoln was next. We dispensed with him suddenly, because we had to, and the country went on as before. – *From an editorial in The New York Daily News.*

Governor Dewey is not President now, and so he is not bound to have a definite "foreign policy" of any kind aside from the general idea of "coöperation" as expressed in the platform and, of course, the interests of the USA. – *Benjamin De Casseres in The New York Daily Mirror.*

MR. TABER: . . . We hope the campaign will be confined to the truth. You can be sure it will be as far as this side of the aisle is concerned.

. . . MR. MC CORMACK: Bearing on that question, Governor Dewey made reference in Pittsburgh to the Roosevelt depression from 1933 to 1940. Does the gentleman from New York remember that we had a Hoover depression and that Roosevelt inherited it?

MR. TABER: But it did not get to a head until Roosevelt was elected, and then the fear of the inauguration of Roosevelt brought it to a head. – *From The Congressional Record.*

Democracy at Work

Ohio law requires that ballots be marked with a black lead pencil. Governor Bricker . . . said election boards were being instructed to count only those absentee ballots marked with a black pencil. To change the system, he said, would destroy "the secrecy of the ballot." – *From The Washington Evening Star.*

Republican Corn . . . Democratic Corn

Hot in Ohio . . . bad for the corn. – *Vice-presidential candidate John Bricker, as quoted in The New Yorker.*

Laboratory experiments indicate that, when plenty of moisture is available, a temperature of 90 degrees is most favorable both for [corn] germination and growth. – *Vice President Henry A. Wallace, co-author with Earl N. Bressman of the standard textbook, "Corn and Corn Growing."*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

The CED on Taxes

SIR: With the publication of the new tax proposals of the Committee for Economic Development, the proponents of a soft taxation policy are going to absurd extremes in their claims of beneficent economic effects. One paper carried the headline "10 Million Jobs Aim of New Tax Proposals." The maintenance of full employment has, if at all, only a remote tie-up with low taxes on income. The recent depression years are the best proof of that.

Business men gear their production plans to expected demand for their goods, not to a paternalistic desire to provide jobs for workers. It is possible that so-called risk capital is scared away by high income and excess-profits taxes, but I doubt if that occurs unless a substantial risk is involved. On the other hand, where such risk is involved, low tax rates alone are rarely sufficient to attract capital investment. The decision to risk capital and the degree of capital risk depend upon other economic factors.

In the present era of full employment and maximum production, capital has taken little risk and has prospered even with high tax rates. Net corporate profits after taxes are, I believe, higher than in the prewar years. There is sure to be a period of postwar prosperity, with high taxes or low. The time to reduce taxes is not in the flow, but rather in the ebb, of that period. High tax rates, in the meantime, will serve very definite useful purposes. They will act as a brake upon speculation and runaway inflation (which is a real danger when price controls are relaxed), they will make possible a balanced budget of current expenditures (this is ultimately essential in any sound fiscal policy) and will also make possible some measure of debt retirement (which is essential to maintain the national credit, if we are to resume deficit financing in the next depression).

The progressive reduction of taxes during the Coolidge prosperity era hastened the ensuing depression and contributed to the severity of the collapse. We must not make that mistake again. But we will, if the present chorus of voices to reduce taxes "to provide jobs" grows much louder.

New York City MEYER KURZ

Coöperatives After the War

SIR: Your articles, "Surplus Property: Plunder or Plan?" and "Consumers Find Themselves" in the September 4 issue of The New Republic have set me thinking.

There are many American liberals who believe that nothing so effectively ensures that big business achieves an efficiency worthy of its potential, and passes the benefits of that efficiency on to the consumer, as the existence of coöperatives. They have clearly demonstrated what a wholesome effect they can exert on quality and prices both in America and Europe. . . .

Most of the government industrial plant is unquestionably going to be disposed of at bargain prices after the war, so why is it not feasible for the national coöperative organizations to purchase some of these fine new units (through RFC loans, for instance) and begin production of goods which have heretofore been out of range of their capital investment? This is their golden opportunity to expand, and in expanding to promote the competitive economics which business organizations continually extol.

If the coöperatives were represented in the production of every important commodity, the American consumer could rest much more easily than at present. And if government loan agencies can be persuaded to look with favor upon loans which enable coöperatives to purchase and operate surplus government plants, it seems altogether likely that the coöperatives will leap at the chance.

Somewhere in the United States W/O C. R. M.

Italian Prisoners of War

SIR: As an American who has tried to follow closely our policy toward Italy, I have been struck by the folly of our short-sighted treatment of Italian war prisoners. Thousands of these men have declared their readiness to take up arms for the United Nations cause; they have been screened by the FBI; they are not Fascists. Many of them, in fact, were active anti-Fascists long before the United States entered the war. Yet they are denied the opportunity to fight, and are still paid the miserable 80 cents a day granted war prisoners—while they work long hours at war work and while misinformed Americans write indignant letters to the papers protesting what they term the "coddling" of these men because they are given a few hours off per week to establish some contact with American life.

Kept, like Italy herself, in the co-belligerent limbo between the status of defeated enemy and that of full ally, no wonder their morale is low, and no wonder there are "disturbances." If this war is a simple game of cops and robbers, then one Italian is no different from another. But if, as most of us believe, the war has political meaning and is intended to be a war of democrats against fascism, we are under solemn obligation at all times and in all cases to distinguish between our friends and our enemies, whatever their nationality.

RICHARD N. KELLY, Editor,
New York City Facts from Italy

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Dr. Florence A. Armstrong, of the National Woman's Party, writes in reply to our editorial, "Equal Rights for Women" [The New Republic, August 21], which maintains that passage of an equal-rights amendment to the Constitution would nullify the benefits to women of much special legislation now protecting them against industrial hazards. Dr. Armstrong says the need for this special consideration has been met by increased unionization of women and the passage of liberal labor legislation for both men and women. The National Woman's Party feels that the equal-rights amendment would adequately meet the present needs of women in industry.

The National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism sends us a copy of the first issue of its bi-weekly news-letter, Counter-attack. The Committee, which is dedicated to the elimination of anti-Semitism from the American scene, is nonsectarian. Its publication will carry news of the fight against racial prejudice.

The National Association of Manufacturers has promised to send representatives to a series of discussions on the national patents system to be given this fall at the John L. Elliott Institute of Human Relations, by Dr. Walton H. Hamilton of the Yale Law School. Dr. Hamilton is the author of a TNEC monograph, "Patents and Free Enterprise," and since he is an outstanding opponent of the NAM, the sessions promise to be lively.

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Books in Review

Augustus to Augustine

SINCE THE APPEARANCE of the first edition in 1940, I have read this book[1] many times, and my conviction of its importance to the understanding not only of the epoch with which it is concerned, but also of our own, has increased with each rereading.

It is divided into three sections. The first, "Reconstruction," describes the attempt of the Principate to justify itself as the political form which could best realize the good life on earth as envisaged by classical philosophy. It traces the fortunes of the New Order, from its foundation by Augustus, attended by the hopes of all civilized mankind, to its collapse after the death of Diocletian. The second, "Renovation," beginning with the edict of Milan in 313 A.D. and ending with an edict of 403 which authorized private individuals "to exercise with impunity the right of public vengeance against criminals," describes the futile attempt, interrupted by the platonist Julian, of the last Caesars to give the dying empire a new lease of life by substituting Christianity for philosophy as a state religion. The last section, "Regeneration," is an exposition of the writings of St. Augustine, in particular of his views on the doctrine of the Trinity, the State and Divine Providence in history.

The distinctive mark of classical thought is that it gives no positive value to freedom, and identifies the divine with the necessary or the legal. It separates order and freedom, and presupposes two everlastingly opposite principles; on the one hand God, who is pure Mind, One, neuter, immobile, and on the other the World, which is Matter, many, in chaotic motion. God, as pure Order, is absolutely self-sufficient and does not need the World; the World, however, needs God, for in its free state it is a meaningless chaos which can only acquire meaning by giving up its freedom and obeying law. According to Aristotle, it wants to do this and imitates God in the only ways which it can, namely, by taking typical forms and acquiring regular motions; according to Plato, it is helpless, and requires an intermediary demiurge who loves the divine ideas and models the world after them. Plato does not make it clear whether this is a voluntary act of the demiurge or a duty imposed on him by his knowledge of the ideas, but, in any case, it is not the demiurge that man is to get to know but the self-sufficient ideas. Man also consists of two elements, a rational soul which is "a scintilla of the divine archetype," immortal, capable of recognizing the necessity of truth and so becoming incapable of error, and a finite body which is mortal, incapable of redemption, but on whose freedom the mind can impose a decent order.

The final note in Homer was one of despair: the evil in the world is due to the gods from whose whims men cannot escape. Classical idealism, on the other hand, identifies evil with the freedom of finite matter, and believes that men can escape by becoming conscious of the truth which compels obedience. It agrees with Homer that history is evil, but believes that man has a telos which is, by imposing the true order on his nature, to rescue himself from the temporal flux. The aim of paideia (Jaeger's volumes should be read in conjunction with this book) is the creation of a supra-historical society, in which succeeding generations shall be exactly like each other in their perfect obedience to eternal laws. Creation, whether political, educational or artistic, is a one-sided affair of imposing universal or typical meaning upon passive or reluctant meaningless individuals: all the initiative comes from the creator or the mind; the creature or the body obeys involuntarily. Classical idealism cannot therefore oppose tyranny on principle; it can only oppose a particular tyrant on the ground that his order is not the true order. Unable to give any meaning to individuality, it has no proper place for the individual who imposes law, and tends in consequence to give him a superhuman, demiurgic status.

Nor can it establish any intelligible connection between the natural affective bonds and the love of justice, for the characteristic feature of philia or of eros is that it is personal—families and lovers love each other, not each other's virtues; they pity and forgive each other, that is, they allow each other to escape the universal law of justice.

By Augustine's time, the attempt to build a society on these principles had completely failed; the introduction of Christianity had not arrested the collapse; if anything, it hastened it.

In his writings, he is not trying to offer a more efficient substitute, which can be guaranteed to make men healthy, wealthy and wise, but to show that the Christian faith can make sense of man's private and social experience, and that classical philosophy cannot.

To the classical doctrine of God as an impersonal, immobile Being, the object of phronesis, he opposes the Christian doctrine of God as a unity of three Persons who created the world out of nothing:

> The first hypostasis, Being, the creative principle properly so called is, strictly speaking, unknown and unknowable, except in so far as it manifests itself in the second and third; the secon hypostasis, the principle of intelligence, reveals itself as the logos, ratio or order of the universe; while the third, the hypostasis of spirit, is the principle of motion therein. To assert that these hypostases are uncreated is simply to assert their existence as principles. As such they are not to be confused in person; being is not to be resolved into order, nor is order to be resolved into process. At the same time, as a substantial unity of substance, they do not admit of separation, *i.e.*, they are not mutually exclusive or antithetic. In other words, the opposition between them is purely and simply one of internal, necessary relations.

The doctrine of the Trinity is the theological formulation of the Christian belief that God is Love, and that

[1] Christianity and Classical Culture. A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine, by Charles Norris Cochrane. New York: The Oxford University Press. 523 pages. $5.

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by Love is meant not Eros but Agape, *i. e.*, not a desire to get possession of something one lacks, but a reciprocal relation, not an everlastingly "given" state, but a dynamic free expression; an unchanging love is a continually novel decision to love. The formula is an offense to the will and a foolishness to the reason, because the will is only convinced by the necessity of superior power which all weaker objects must obey, the reason by logical necessity, like the timeless truths of geometry. The will could accept the idea of either one or three persons, "very big men with red hair," but not the trinity in unity; the reason could grasp the latter as a concept, like a triangle, but not the doctrine of three *persons*.

A monolithic monotheism is always a doctrine of God as either manic-depressive Power or schizophrenic Truth. As the first, it can account for the existence of the world, but not for the evil in it; as the second, it can account for the evil, once there is a world the existence of which it cannot account for.

It follows from the doctrine of the Trinity that to say God chose to create the word, and to say He had to create it, mean the same thing, for the love which is God is, by definition, a creative love. A God of power could create a world and perhaps love it, but he could not need it to love him, for to him reciprocity would have no meaning; a God of truth would be self-sufficient and to him creation would be meaningless. The Christian doctrine of creation asserts, among other things, that there is nothing intrinsically evil in matter, the order of nature is inherent in its substance, individuality and motion have meaning, and history is not an unfortunate failure of necessity to master chance, but a dialectic of human choice.

To the classical doctrine of Man as an immortal divine reason incarcerated in a finite mortal body, Augustine opposes the Christian doctrines of Man as created in the image of God, and Man as a fallen creature.

The contrast is not between body and mind, but between flesh, *i.e.*, all man's physical and mental faculties as they exist in his enslaved self-loving state, and spirit, which witnesses within him to all that his existence was and still is meant to be, capable of loving God in the same way that God loves him.

When a Christian, like Augustine, talks about ethics, therefore, he begins not with the rational act or the pleasant act, but with the *acte gratuite*, which is neither reasonable nor physically pleasant, but a pure assertion of absolute self autonomy. As the hero in Dostoevsky's "Notes from Underground" says:

> You will scream at me (that is, if you condescend to do so) that no one is touching my free will, that all they are concerned with is that my will should of itself, of its own free will, coincide with my own normal interests, with the laws of nature and arithmetic. Good heavens, gentlemen, what sort of free will is left when we come to tabulation and arithmetic, when it will all be a case of twice two makes four. Twice two makes four without my will. As if free will meant that.

Man, that is to say, always acts either self-loving, just for the hell of it, or God-loving, just for the heaven of it; his reasons, his appetites are secondary motivations. Man chooses either life or death, but he chooses; everything he does, from going to the toilet to mathematical speculation, is an act of religious worship, either of God or of himself.

Lastly to the classical apotheosis of the Man-God, Augustine opposes the Christian belief in Jesus Christ, the God-Man. The former is a Hercules who compels recognition by the great deeds he does in establishing for the common people the law, order and prosperity they cannot establish for themselves, by his manifestation of superior power; the latter reveals to fallen man that God is love by suffering, *i.e.*, by refusing to compel recognition, choosing instead to be a victim of man's self-love. The idea of a sacrificial victim is not new; but that it should be the victim who chooses to be sacrificed, and the sacrificers who deny that any sacrifice has been made, is very new.

In his description of the earthly and the heavenly cities, Augustine draws from the Christian faith certain political conclusions. The human individual is to be envisaged

> not as a speck of cosmic matter, shooting up like a meteor through space, and for a brief moment lighting up the sky, before the darkness closes around it, nor yet as *anthropos tis*, a mere specimen in a biological, racial, occupational, cultural or political group, but, in Tertullian's words, as the *vas spiritus*, the one real subject of volition, *i.e.*, of intelligent and deliberate activity.

At the same time, individuality is inconceivable except in relation to others; "his life and death are with his neighbors." Every society, from the smallest to the largest, is "a group of rational beings associated on the basis of a common tie in respect of those things which they love." In so far as its members love themselves, a society is an earthly city in which order is maintained by force and fear of chaos, bound sooner or later to break down under the tension between freedom and law; in so far as they love God and their neighbor as themselves, the same society becomes a heavenly city in which order appears the natural consequence of freedom, not a physical or logical imposition.

> This may well be mysterious, but it is not mythical or hypothetical. For it means that the selfsame human wills have attached themselves, not to transcendental objects (that they leave to Platonism), but to a principle which gives the "object" world a wholly fresh complexion, thus making all things new.

To see this is to realize, first, that no power on earth can compel men to love; it can only compel them to conform till it is overthrown; all legislation and coercion, however necessary, has a negative function only; respectability can be a consequence of habituation, though not for long; love never becomes a habit. Second, there is no perfect *form* of society; the best form can only be the form through which at any given historical moment or in any given geographical location, love for one's neighbor can express itself most freely, *i.e.*, it is a practical not an ideological matter. There can, for the Christian, be no distinction between the personal and the political, for all his relationships are both; every marriage is a polis, every imperium a family; and he has to learn to forgive and sacrifice himself for his enemies, as for his wife and children.

He is to be neither an anarchist nor a non-political "idiot," but to act now, with an eye fixed, neither nostalgically on the past nor dreamily on some ideal future,

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but on eternity—"redeeming the time"—in the words of Sidney Smith, he is to "trust in God and take short views."

Our period is not so unlike the age of Augustine: the planned society, caesarism of thugs or bureaucracies, paideia, scientia, religious persecution, are all with us. Nor is there even lacking the possibility of a new Constantinism; letters have already begun to appear in the press, recommending religious instruction in schools as a cure for juvenile delinquency; Mr. Cochrane's terrifying description of the "Christian" empire under Theodosius should discourage such hopes of using Christianity as a spiritual benzedrine for the earthly city, which may use the words of the Lord's Prayer but translates them into its own classical meanings, admirably retranslated into the vulgar English by William Blake:

> Our Father Augustus Caesar who art in these thy Substantial Astronomical Telescopic Heavens, Holiness to Thy Name or Title, and reverence to Thy Shadow. Thy Kingship come upon Earth first and then in Heaven. Give us day by day our Real Taxed Substantial Money bought Bread; deliver from the Holy Ghost whatever cannot be taxed; for all is debts and taxes between Caesar and us and one another; lead us not to read the Bible, but let our Bible be Vergil and Shakespeare; and deliver us from Poverty in Jesus, that Evil One. For Thine is the Kingship or Allegoric Godship, and the Power or War, and the Glory or Law, ages after ages in Thy descendants; for God is only an allegory of Kings and nothing else.

W. H. AUDEN

Great Grotesque

Nikolai Gogol, by Vladimir Nabokov. Norfolk, Conn: New Directions. 172 pages. $1.50.

ONE FAIRLY ACCURATE cardiogram of just how violently the Anglo-American heart palpitates over one of Russia's supreme geniuses is furnished by the Britannica (fourteenth edition). GOGOL, NIKOLAI VASSILIEVICH, rates one column and a grudging third, a bibliography of four lines listing as many items (only one in English), and not even a cut of the man. GOLF, however, earns 18 columns (glossary, 3 columns; bibliography, one-third column; 10 line cuts and one plate of 9 halftones). And the never-to-be-praised-enough Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library lists, among hundreds of entries, in ever so many languages, under *Gogol, Works About*, five additional items written in English—all scholastic scrapiana. Gogol, in English criticism, has long since degenerated into a quintain for the professors and a whipping-boy for ex-Russians who show themselves indubitably greater geniuses at engineering blood-ritual trials than at appraising literature and its creators.

It might therefore sound invidious to say that Nabokov's thoroughly mannered critical and biographical study of Gogol is the best in English—although it is precisely that.

Nabokov is a particularly rare orchid of the aerophyte Russian-literature-in-exile, and his fantasticism and exoticism received the cachet (something like fifteen years ago) from none other than the great and patriarchal Amphitheatrov. And since biography and even criticism are, for some reason, considered creative, Nabokov may be said to have created his own Gogol, adding one more to his phantasmal gallery of "strange creatures" where, in crepuscule, hang his Potato Elf, his chess-mad genius Luzhin. And one can't help feeling that he would have done as excellently with Hoffman, with Poe, with Baudelaire, with De Quincey, with St. John of the Apocalypse—save that, by choice, he would have made them all as realistic as bunion plasters.

The critic's main thesis (superbly defended) seems to be that Gogol was no realist, that he had an unreal, a looking-glass world of his own, that his catoptrics were not those of a mirror merely crooked but a mirror "of Gogol's own making and with a special refraction of its own," and that it wasn't necessarily nature he was holding it up to. If Chekhov could maintain (quite rightly) that his plays were really comedies, why shouldn't Nabokov describe "The Government Inspector" as a "dream play," "poetry-in-action," rather than a comedy? And in calling "Dead Souls" a "tremendous epic poem" he is simply adding an adjective to Gogol's own tag.

Of course, this approach will hardly create the uproar that Briussov's "He Who Has Burned Utterly into Ashes" ("Ispepelennyi") did three and a half decades ago. Rozanov also, even before Briussov, had shown that Gogol had created his own world and his own people, and to Merejkovsky Gogol was a phantast and a mystic—but then, Merejkovsky could make a Blakian tiger out of a tabbycat.

Gogol no realist? Perhaps. Yet the present writer believes (on the basis of experimentation) that "The Government Inspector," at least, would play Broadway to SRO merely by transposing the dialogue into American idiom, transferring the scene to any one of the hellholes in our own camellia-drenched, magnolia-stenchy South, and without changing the characters in any way save putting them in modern dress and trimming the *oviches* and *ovnas* into mintjulepy yet thoroughly Gogolian names. What was Huey Long save Skvoznik-Dmuhanovski, the amoral and immortal Mayor of the play?

Nabokov's brilliant causerie is concerned chiefly with "The Government Inspector" "Dead Souls" and "The Overcoat," with a kind word for only one comparatively insignificant fragment among Gogol's marvelous (in the Russian) Ukrainian stories (and a somewhat kinder nod for some of the "Arabesques"), since Gogol is to him a "false humorist." This attitude, it is very much to be feared, belongs to that dubious sophistication which in the United States expresses itself in a superior air toward the great arts of variety and the circus and poor old Longfellow, and which (at least in old Russia) was manifested in a let's-be-indulgent-about-the-humor-of-that-quaint-beggar-Chekhov. All Gogolators know of the Heresy of Kulish, who criticized the Ukrainian tales of Gogol, and there are pamphlets in Ukrainian plaintively entitled "Come, Was Gogol Really One of Us?" At any rate the reviewer, despite all the reasoned arguments, was caught utterly off his guard by certain passages given in Mr. Nabokov's own translation. And, after all, what other test of a humorist is there save his ability to make the reader (calloused or otherwise) laugh?

There are ever so many valiant gestures for which the author deserves a cluster of Distinguished Literary Service Medals: his attempt to introduce *poshlust* (in the sense of vulgarity, philistinism) into English; his excoriation of Gar-

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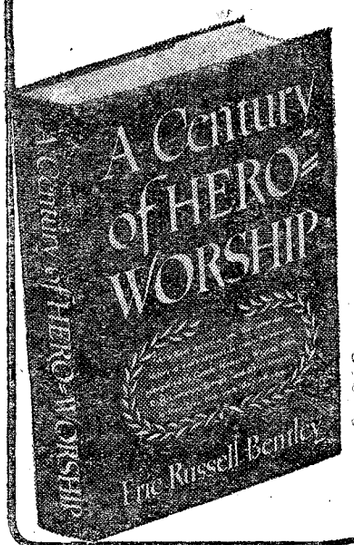

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nettian, Thousand-Pieces-Execution translations—so deep is his utterly correct feeling on this point that he spells Isabel Hapgood's name throughout as Hepgood; his refreshing attitude toward psychoanalysis: he doesn't exactly stick his tongue out at it, but, definitely and sensibly, keeps it in his cheek. He takes only a neat phrase or two to annihilate Gogol's very own Tsar, pulls no punches about Gogol's evil dæmon, an ignorant lout of a country priest, and shows quite objectively that when a good writer gets religion the result is inevitably bad writing.

It is therefore all the more regrettable to come upon a sour note or two. Nabokov creates every opportunity (coherent or otherwise) to flick out at the Soviets. Of course the author's anti-Sovietism (even if it be so very passé as not to be even sophisticated) has nothing to do with his book—which is precisely what makes it so very irritating. And such arbitrary pronunciamentos as that the written word has been dead in Russia for the last twenty-five years are (since Soviet literature is by no means a closed, even though a smudged, book in English) likely to prejudice the intelligent reader against better reasoned contentions where the author is fully able to maintain his ground. Then there is the overenthusiasm in implying (or seeming to imply) that his idol was somehow unique in creating what Nabokov calls peripheral, secondary, dream characters. Surely, there is a Mrs. Harris, and there are the Dream Children. And in playwriting the creative, evocative use of this exceedingly ancient device ranges from the Falstaff cycle ("And is Jane Nightwork alive?"), through (good) French comedy, down to the "Toplitski Says" skits which died only with the music halls. And certain translations strike one irresistibly as an attempt to salvage exercises in that curious dead language, Anglo-English (wigging, waggish, bigwigs; little beggar, conjuror; old chap, old boy, old fellow). Everywhere else, where Mr. Nabokov has made something very like an anthology of next-to-impossible-to-English Gogolian passages, he has turned them into living Amer-English and acquitted himself nobly.

The work is, in the main, creative criticism, and as such quite often attains the caliber of "On the Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth." The author's perceptiveness is not only as keen but as bright and chill as a razor. Or (to use his own persistent figure of escamotage): Nabokov on Gogol is Dunninger eclaircissizing the *modae operandi* of Houdini. Biography is by no means scamped, but the critic handles it in his own way—fortunately. He is most fastidious in his use of anything smacking of the apocryphal or anecdotal, but there is no niggardliness as to fascinating and (occasionally) illuminating sidelights. (It is amusing to learn that Gogol was as great a facial contortionist as Morimoto.) He dismisses (quite correctly) Gogol's sex-life in a single sentence; but it is a pity that he has not devoted more than a sentence each to Gogol the actor (no one but a born actor could have written "The Inspector General"), to Gogol the draughtsman, and to that minor Ukrainian playwright but true theatromane, Gogol's father.

There is one English biography of Gogol, stoutly enough built but a slow-coach, available to the plodding student. But the creative reader (and student) who wishes to soar on Gogol's own wingéd-steed *troika* will choose Nabokov as his exhilarating courier.

BERNARD GUILBERT GUERNEY

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When the War Ends

Production, Jobs and Taxes, by Harold M. Groves. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 116 pages. $1.25.
The Liquidation of War Production, by A. D. H. Kaplan. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 133 pages. $1.50.
The Economics of Demobilization, by E. Jay Howenstine Jr. Washington: Public Affairs Press. 336 pages. Cloth, $3.75; paper, $3.25.

WITH THE BATTLE FOR RECONVERSION now on in Congress, it seems more important than ever that we know what our legislators are fighting about. Yet the issues are so technical that most of us are reluctant to inquire into the problems of war-contract cancellations, tax revisions, surplus goods and war-plant disposal. These three volumes, however, will do much to help the interested citizen understand the technical, social and economic issues involved. Political motivations, too, may be ascertained without much difficulty.

The first two books, by Professors Groves and Kaplan, are publications of the Committee for Economic Development. The CED disavows any attempt to restrict its authors' freedom of expression, yet we might expect a greater measure of independent thought than is apparent here. Professor Groves's proposals for federal tax changes should be particularly acceptable to the business world; they are well calculated to ease corporate-tax burdens. While some of the reforms would bring about long needed improvements, the major suggestions would unquestionably deepen the regressive tendencies of our tax system. Elimination of the present cumbersome excess-profits tax after the war is an admissible alteration. It is far too complex to become a permanent instrument in a peacetime fiscal program. Carry-over provisions for business losses, the averaging of fluctuating incomes and the abolition of exemption privileges may help to achieve a more equitable tax structure. The rest of Professor Groves's program, though, is considerably more dubious.

He proposes that we broaden the federal tax base and decrease the upper-bracket rates. This, together with the elimination of federal excise taxes, he says, will benefit the lower-income classes. The argument is a fictitious one. Much of the regressive nature of our tax system is derived from state and local impositions: federal excise taxes play a relatively minor role in the total tax burden. Professor Groves is particularly concerned with the integration of corporate and personal taxes. A fusion of both imposts, it is argued, would eradicate the largest part of double taxation and consequently would stimulate adventure-seeking capital investment. The implication, however, that corporate taxation has inhibited investment must be rejected, for it ignores the basic cause of capital-expenditure decline—the lack of consuming power. Taxation and fiscal policy after the war must be directed toward sustaining that power if we do not want to repeat the depressing experiences of the thirties.

And we ought to become reconciled to a repetition of those experiences if Congress continues to prepare the postwar economy with halfway devices. Both Dr. Howenstine and Professor Kaplan warn us against a recurrence of the

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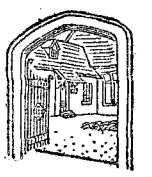

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1918 demobilization follies. We cannot treat the transition to peace production, Kaplan urges, as a back-to-normalcy movement. The demobilization economy, Howenstine adds, is neither a peace nor a war economy; it has its own unique problems that demand unique solutions.

Professor Kaplan's report, with which the CED does not fully agree, is a thorough and eminently readable analysis of the problems of contract cancellation and settlement, the disposal of surplus supplies and the disposition of war plants. He quite frankly states that business alone cannot organize demobilization. "These problems will require overall policy formation and authoritative guidance by a central policy body." Without such an approach, the way to reconversion inevitably will be plagued by the kind of chaotic frustration that Dr. Howenstine so ably describes in his history of the Alice-in-Wonderland demobilization after World War I.

Though we are told that history does not repeat itself, the coming period of transition promises to be a reasonable facsimile of 1918-22. Dr. Howenstine, whose book covers more ground than Professor Kaplan's, subscribes to the thesis that full employment depends on a high level of consumption. His analysis of the many problems we face is constantly pitched in that key. Though largely a history of 1918 and after, the author does not forget to make the necessary comparisons with the present. And with our current preparations, the comparisons enforce a mood of pessimism. In our mad rush back to the past we are bound to ignore the future.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

A Reader's List

GEORGE BANCROFT: BRAHMIN REBEL, by Russel B. Nye (Knopf, $3.50). George Bancroft, as Polk's Secretary of the Navy, founded the Naval Academy and signed the order precipitating the war with Mexico. Later he was Polk's Ambassador to England and Andrew Johnson's Ambassador to Prussia. But he is best known for his ten-volume history of the United States, the first volume of which appeared in 1834, the tenth in 1875. Bancroft was born in 1800, and was one of the first Americans to study in Germany—the Germany of Goethe and Hegel. Optimistic Hegel saw Prussia as the culmination of the Divine Plan. Bancroft looked at the United States the same way. He was a thorough scholar, one of the first to use original documents almost exclusively. But he used them in a holy cause, which was not history but religion. Bancroft was a Democrat in Whig New England, but he was hardly the "rebel" Dr. Nye's subtitle would make him out to be. He had little of the intensity of Parker or Garrison; compared to Emerson or Thoreau he was a second-rater. He hardly excited his times; Dr. Nye's "Life" will hardly excite ours.

NUSANTARA: A HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO, by Bernard H. M. Vlekke (Harvard, $5). This is the first original work in the English language of the history of the Malay Archipelago, a territory now comprising the Netherlands East Indies, which will play a far more important role in the postwar world than ever before. Mr. Vlekke has written a chronological account of important happenings and trends in the

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THE IDEAL FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT, by W. Stark (Oxford, $3.50). This book, a publication of the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, is a valiant effort to reveal the philosophic bases of modern economic thinking. The author discusses several writers whose work, he feels, exemplifies the major directions taken by economic science. Locke and Leibnitz are the pure philosophers whose cosmology gave classical economics its characteristic view. Thomas Hodgskin and William Thompson, who were, in a sense, forerunners of Karl Marx, are presented as early nineteenth-century writers deeply concerned with the conflict between liberty and equality. Capitalisms's inherent inability to reconcile these concepts began to be reflected in their writings but was most clearly displayed in the work of Hermann Gossen and Richard Jennings. Dr. Stark's treatment of these writers is a skillful compound of close paraphrase and copious quotations which successfully gives each writer his due. Yet the author's choice of subjects is strange. There were many economists whose influence was more significant than those discussed here. The book is a good one, but hardly complete.

STATEMENT ON SOCIAL SECURITY (National Planning Association, Planning Pamphlet No. 33, 25 cents). This pamphlet is a brief yet trenchant analysis of the future of social security in America. The statement, a joint product of the NPA's Agriculture, Business and Labor Committees, represents a minimum area of agreement on social-security policy. Compared to our present security provisions, the committees' suggestions are indeed forward-looking. A truly national social-insurance scheme, together with an improved employment service, is suggested as the best way of overcoming the economic and social risks of old age, unemployment, disability and ill health. The committees recognize that economic insecurity is, in many instances, preventable; consequently they stress the importance of an adequate health service. The statement rightly insists that a national insurance system does not mean the strengthening of a tyrannical bureaucracy. In fact, a centralized system is the only way of assuring uniform eligibility rules and efficiency in administration. In the final analysis a social-security program is no substitute for a well operated economy. Public policy must first seek to achieve full employment.

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AUTHORS — ATTENTION

WE ARE CONSIDERING adding to our list of publications acceptable manuscripts of prose and poetry. THE MOSHER PRESS, 85 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

INVASION DIARY, by Richard Tregaskis (Random House, $2.75). Written in the carefully phrased, almost antiseptic prose which has become the hallmark of modern war reportage, "Invasion Diary" covers the day-by-day slow drive from Sicily to Salerno and Cassino. There is none of the color of Quentin Reynolds or Ernie Pyle in this straightforward report on the facts, figures and realities of war. Tregaskis was on the LCI's, participated in the bombing of Rome and was severely wounded near Cassino. Yet even these personal experiences are set down tersely and dispassionately. An excellent source book on the Italian campaign.

THE ADVENTURES OF THE YOUNG SOLDIER IN SEARCH OF THE BETTER WORLD, by C. E. M. Joad (Arco, $2). C. E. M. Joad's searching wit and Mervyn Peake's devastating illustrations effectively combine to debunk current blueprints for the postwar world. Chief character in these Platonic dialogues is the average well born, well educated young British soldier who meets and is confused by a motley crew representing most of the cults, "groups" and fetishes of our age. After talking to the Ultra-red Robot (a Marxist), Red-tape Worm (a bureaucrat), Mr. Heardhux (Gerald Heard and Aldous Huxley) among others, the young soldier finally meets the Philosopher who reminds him of the eternal verities and tosses the problem back to the individual, average man. If Professor Joad's summation is inconclusive, his critique of modern dogma and catch phrases certainly is not. Like the Philosopher himself, this little volume is something of a signpost for the immediate future.

PLANNING: No. 224. Location of Employment (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic. 25 cents). PEP's current broadsheet invites comparison with the NRPB's 1942 report on "Industrial Location and National Resources." The latter was a detailed and somewhat technical analysis of the factors influencing the situs of industry in America. PEP's report, though considerably shorter, is more emphatically concerned with the human impacts of industrial location. The editors stress the need to avoid the kind of localization that results in ghost towns in times of economic decay; the depressed areas of South Wales and the Midlands taught Britain a bitter lesson. A variety of balanced and complementary industries, the editors say, should be developed in an entire area. Only a regional approach will create a basis for the "preventive policy which will provide every area with a reasonable balance of employment." The broadsheet also discusses technical aspects; raw-material and power sources, transportation, accessibility to markets and labor supply are industrial realities that cannot be ignored. American commentators on the transition to a peacetime economy have seemingly overlooked this problem. Yet can we again afford the vacant factories and the crawling jalopies of the thirties?

Contributors

LOUIS H. BEAN, formerly an economist with the United States Department of Agriculture, is now with the Bureau of the Budget. In 1940 he published a statistical analysis of Ballot Behavior in Presidential Elections.

JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN is the author of two volumes of poetry, "The Garden Is Political" (Macmillan) and "The Lincoln Lyrics" (New Directions). A third, "No Arch, No Triumph," is to be published next spring by Alfred A. Knopf. He is a member of the English Department at Vassar.

W. H. AUDEN, English poet and playwright, has just published a new volume of verse, "For the Time Being" (Random House).

BERNARD GUILBERT GUERNEY was born in the Ukraine, and published his first short story in an American magazine in 1917. He is also known for his translations of Russian authors, ranging from Averchenko to Zoshchenko. In the case of Gogol he has translated "Dead Souls," "The Government Inspector" and "The Overcoat." He is at present working on "The Living Writings of the Jews," an anthology along lines somewhat similar to his "Treasury of Russian Literature," published last year by Vanguard Press.

BEN B. SELIGMAN, a frequent contributor to The New Republic, is a commodity analyst for the OPA.

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DEWEY

The Man and His Record

A Special Section

THE NEW REPUBLIC

September 25, 1944 *In two parts: Part Two*

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Thomas E. Dewey

A Special Section

Dewey, the Man

THOMAS E. DEWEY is a man who presents grave difficulties to cartoonists who try to draw him or to writers seeking to describe his personality. It is hard to get hold of him. He has no outstanding vices or virtues; in many ways he seems like the average man—the loyal member of the bourgeoisie who works hard on weekdays, goes to church on Sunday, owns a place in the country and plays a little golf—a good husband and father, frugal, industrious and ambitious.

That he is ambitious, nobody can doubt. How long he has been possessed by the burning desire to be President is not clear, but it has certainly been many years. Everyone who comes into contact with him speaks of this overweening ambition, his friends with respect, his enemies with derision. His political life shows that he is capable of making plans many years ahead and sticking to them with perseverance and decision.

If he remembers what he wants for long periods of time, he also remembers those who have done him an injury. He is not hail-fellow-well-met like Warren G. Harding, ready to forgive and forget. He carries grudges and nurses grievances.

It is interesting and important that practically without exception, the newspapermen assigned to cover him, who see more of him than almost anyone else, are hostile to him. It was not, however, one of them, but the wife of a political colleague who made the remark, "You have to know Mr. Dewey very well in order to dislike him." The newspapermen say, in general, that he is egotistical, ruthless, humorless, inconsiderate of their welfare. These observations are significant because, despite the common impression that newspapermen are cold and cynical, they are, on the contrary, mostly an amiable, easy-going lot who are usually ready to meet any public character rather more than halfway.

Dewey's bad relations with the press are notorious—so much so that his managers have taken heroic but not very successful measures to try to improve them. The reporters say it is impossible to please him with anything written about him. Even if the intention was fulsome flattery, he will pounce upon some obscure detail which, it turns out, hurts his feelings. He has what journalists consider the very bad habit of complaining, not to the author of the offending article but to the publisher, and sometimes in such irate tones as to suggest that he wants the offending writer dismissed.

The newspapermen have created their own fund of jokes about him. Some of these are based on the fact that he is of slightly less than average height, and are most unfair since, as his press agents keep telling you, he is taller than Stalin and much taller than Napoleon (he is 5 feet 8½ inches). It was a newspaperman who, on first seeing Governor Dewey's Great Dane, asked: "Does he ride it to work?" and afterward remarked that, for his part, he would "take the big man with the little dog." Another journalist appropriated an old vaudeville joke and said that the Governor, having drunk too much coffee, had spent the night pacing up and down under his bed. On the other hand it was not a journalist, but a well known lady who made the famous remark, "After all, how can you vote for a man who looks like the bridegroom on a wedding cake?" It was a reporter who kept referring to him as "Buster," and when reproached for this unseemly levity, explained seriously, "I meant Gangbuster, of course."

The facts of Mr. Dewey's public career are by now fairly familiar; some of them are repeated in other parts of this special section. He was born in Owosso, Michigan, on March 24, 1902, so that if he is elected President this year he will be the youngest man ever to be inaugurated to that high office, almost a month younger than was Theodore Roosevelt. As a boy he belonged to the Boy Scouts, sang in the choir and peddled The Saturday Evening Post. (In a brilliant and vitriolic portrait in The New Yorker by Wolcott Gibbs and John Bainbridge, the statement appears that during his gangbusting days in New York, the newspapermen who covered him used to call him "the Boy Scout" or sometimes more simply, "the Boy.") He did a little work as a hired hand on a farm and a little work as a typesetter on his father's newspaper. He went to the University of Michigan, where he took prizes in singing and debating contests; he has a good baritone voice, and at one time his ambition was to be an opera singer.

Messrs. Gibbs and Bainbridge report that he plays average-man golf, shooting about 100, hates to drive faster than 50 miles an hour in an automobile and reads history and biography. He also qualifies to be a statesman by having the seemingly universal characteristic of the great: he is devoted to murder mysteries. Four years ago, he was designated by the Merchant Tailors'

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and Designers' Association of America as one of the 25 best dressed men in the country. Whether you would call him good-looking is, doubtless, a matter of taste. People who are rather unfriendly sometimes refer to his protuberant eyes, the somewhat squashed-in effect his face gives, and the clefts between his front teeth on both the upper and the lower jaw.

The myth about Dewey the gangbuster is discussed rather extensively elsewhere in this supplement. In summary, we may say that the myth is built around efficiency and aggressiveness in dealing with evildoers. Whether by design or accident, the public has been allowed to get the impression (completely justified by the facts) that Mr. Dewey used to cut corners in his efforts to obtain convictions; and this, too, is probably well calculated to augment his popularity with many people. Deplorable as it may be, numbers of Americans have always been careless about protecting the civil liberties of a man who, they are convinced, is guilty of crimes for which he probably could not be convicted. The country thought it was a smart trick when Al Capone was sent to jail on a tax-evasion charge, instead of being hauled up for any of the multitudinous murders reportedly committed by his friends and associates, if not with his collaboration, at least without any conspicuous demur on his part. Needless to say, however, a tendency to cut corners, to arrive at presumably good ends by devious means, would be a deplorable characteristic in a President of the United States.

Of all the recent occupants of the White House, Mr. Coolidge would seem the one with whom Governor Dewey has the geratest spiritual kinship. The chief difference between them is that Coolidge never quite knew what he wanted, but drifted from job to job, finally drifting into the White House on the erroneous report that he had acted courageously during the Boston police strike. Dewey is miles away from Franklin Roosevelt, the easygoing, humorous patrician from Hyde Park, with his sensitive response to every human being with whom he comes in contact and his sympathetic desire to agree with everyone as far as possible. He is equally distant in character, though they are close associates, from the despondent Mr. Hoover, who was tortured by such Hamlet-like doubts and indecisions. No one could compare him to Harding, the genial, weak politician, the sort of man who would put over a sordid deal in the backroom of a saloon, and then feel pretty ashamed of himself afterwards. No, Coolidge is our man; a Coolidge made vocal, equipped with overweening ambition, and not caring very much on whom he tramples, or how hard, in fulfilling that ambition.

Dewey as Prosecutor

TOM DEWEY's career as a public prosecutor has seldom been examined objectively. Writers either glorify Dewey as a modern Lochinvar, or excoriate him as a ruthless opportunist. Since his record as prosecutor is one of Dewey's chief political assets, it is important to present the facts on the opposite side of the balance sheet. What were his outstanding victories against crime? How did he achieve them? Where did he fail?

Dewey became Special Rackets Prosecutor for New York City in 1935. It was a propitious time for anyone with prosecuting ability and political ambitions. New York was overridden with racketeers and gangsters who had bought public immunity with bribes and threats. The entire nation had become aroused over the crime wave in New York.

Dewey's indictments were quick and spectacular. He attacked rackets in the live-poultry industry, in the restaurant, baking and trucking businesses as zealously as he had fought the bootlegging trade two years earlier when he was chief assistant to the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York. He cracked down on loan sharks, as well as on policy-game and prostitution circles. After he had become District Attorney in 1937, Dewey exposed police graft; he removed dishonest and dictatorial officials from the electrical workers, painters and building-service unions; he prosecuted Charles E. Mitchell and Richard Whitney for fraudulent business practices; he obtained the disbarment of City Judge Harold Kunstler; he helped to expose United States Circuit Judge Martin Manton's mishandling of receiverships; and he sent to jail such "public enemies" as Lucky Luciano and Jimmy Hines.

An impressive record indeed. But what this manifest success story does not reveal at first sight is that many of the rackets Dewey prosecuted continued to flourish in different forms or under new auspices. In the Bronx, on the other hand, District Attorneys McGeehan and Foley actually prevented rackets by jailing incipient racketeers before they had a chance to commit crimes. While Dewey publicized his accomplishments in the press, the preventive steps taken by his colleagues in the Bronx went unnoticed

While Dewey's achievements as prosecutor are probably more considerable than those of many others who have served as District Attorney, the record of William O'Dwyer of Brooklyn, who busted "Murder, Incorporated," compares very favorably with it. Political expediency made it necessary not merely to give to Dewey's career as prosecutor its due praise, but to exaggerate its success.

Figures have been widely circulated to prove that Dewey was successful in about 94.2 percent of his prosecutions. He has been credited with 73 convictions

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in 74 major cases. But these figures do not prove very much because they do not indicate how the cases were disposed of. A breakdown of Dewey's convictions for 1939 reveals:

In 10.2 percent the defendants were found guilty in trials by jury;

In 10.3 percent the defendants pleaded guilty to the offenses charged;

In 16.6 percent the defendants were freed;

In 62.9 percent the defendants pleaded guilty to lesser offenses than had originally been charged.

The last item is significant. Pleading guilty to a lesser offense than charged, popularly known as a "bargain plea," is a legal trick whereby neither prosecutor nor defendant risks the hazard of a court trial. The defendant will not be sentenced for the most serious of his crimes, and the prosecutor does not have to take the chance of being defeated. The high percentage of "bargain pleas" in Dewey's record does not appear in the over-all statistics of his efficiency. It is interesting to note that Frank S. Hogan, Dewey's successor, claims to have beaten Dewey's record in 1943 with 97.7 percent successful prosecutions. It has been estimated that if Dewey's success was measured in terms of the convictions for offenses charged, his record would be only 20.5 percent: 10.2 percent found guilty in trials, and 10.3 percent pleading guilty as charged.

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The best known instance of Dewey's use of the "bargain plea" is his prosecution of Joseph Ison and Alexander Pompez, two of the biggest policy bankers in New York. When the name of Jimmy Hines came up, Dewey got these two men to turn state's evidence, promising them to reduce their thirteen felony counts and one misdemeanor count to a single misdemeanor charge. The reason of course was that Hines was a far more spectacular catch for the ambitious District Attorney.

Dewey tried a similar deal in the Goldis case, when he attempted to get a known murderer off on a manslaughter charge. After Judge Ferdinand Pecora refused to preside over the case, Dewey was forced to "peddle the plea" all over New York. He finally succeeded in getting Goldis a manslaughter plea.

J. Richard Davis, attorney to Dutch Schultz, was permitted by Dewey to plead guilty to a minor offense when he helped to convict Hines.

It is well known that Dewey, in order to obtain swift convictions, brushed aside the most fundamental civil rights of witnesses, defendants and others connected with his prosecutions. He was far from punctilious about the right to counsel and reasonable bail. While Dewey avoided the third degree, he faced witnesses with the choice of testifying for the prosecution or being indicted for complicity. According to a study of Dewey by Press Research, Inc., on which we have drawn extensively, Dewey was careless about searches and seizures without warrant, used wire-tapping, brought people in for questioning with grand-jury subpoenas when the jury was not in session, and held witnesses indefinitely under "protective arrest," denied outside contacts.

Dewey offered lucrative awards for the sort of testimony he wanted. In the case against Lucky Luciano, who, as many lawyers and reporters felt at the time, was innocent of the particular crime for which Dewey indicted him, prostitutes were paid off so generously as to make testimony, perjured or not, temporarily a highly lucrative career. Subsequently, all the main witnesses in the Luciano case retracted their testimony before the late Martin Conboy, former United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York.

While the use of all these devices in criminal prosecutions was not restricted to Dewey, he practised them so freely that it is not unlikely that they resulted in miscarriages of justice. Dewey was particularly fond of the "joinder indictment," a dangerous practice by which a number of people can be tried simultaneously on the same charge. It makes it relatively easy for the prosecutor to impute the crimes of guilty defendants to possibly innocent ones. This technique readily confuses jurors. While it has long been used by federal lawyers in conspiracy cases, Dewey introduced it into criminal cases in New York State and County courts, where it is now known as "the Dewey Law." Many trial attorneys and the American Civil Liberties Union oppose its use for theoretical and practical reasons.

Perhaps most indicative of Dewey's social prejudices as they appear from his prosecuting career was his preference for "Blue Ribbon" juries in all of his major cases. These juries are blatantly undemocratic. They are based on the outmoded assumption that men of property are more intelligent than ordinary citizens. Their use in a democratic society deprives the indicted person of his right to be tried before a jury of his peers. Although the Judicial Council of New York, a commission of presiding judges, recommended their discontinuation in 1937, and although the Criminal Courts Committee of the New York County Lawyers' Association passed a similar resolution in 1939, Dewey continued to insist on having his cases tried before "Blue Ribbon" juries throughout this period.

There is some evidence that Dewey did not prosecute defendants of wealth and influence with the same vigor that he used against ordinary racketeers. For example, Richard Whitney, president of the New York

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Stock Exchange, was never indicted on his most glaring embezzlement, nor did Dewey try to discover which of Whitney's business connections had been implicated in the conspiracy. The speed with which the Whitney case was handled is indeed surprising. Dewey obtained the first indictment, in which he accused Whitney of stealing $105,000 from the George R. Sheldon trust fund, on March 10, 1938. The gates of Sing Sing closed behind Whitney on April 12.

Mr. I. F. Stone, writing in The Nation of January 14, 1939, has suggested that Whitney pleaded guilty to both Dewey's and State's Attorney John J. Bennett's indictments to avoid public inquiry, as it was not unlikely that a number of important persons connected with Whitney might have been embarrassed by the scandal. But the little questioning there was revealed that Whitney had borrowed $1,082,000 from his brother George, a Morgan partner, in November, 1937. The loan was to cover securities and cash which Whitney had stolen from a gratuity fund established by the Stock Exchange to aid widows and orphans of members. Dewey made no effort to determine whether George Whitney knew of the purpose for which the loan was sought by his brother. But on March 30, Richard Whitney admitted before the federal referee in bankruptcy that he had confessed the gratuity-fund theft to his brother in November.

Although this misappropriation was listed among the reasons for Whitney's expulsion from the Stock Exchange, Dewey did not inquire into the circumstances surrounding the restitution made possible by the loan. Yet Sections 570 and 580 of the New York Penal Code made Whitney's action a felony. The most obvious questions Dewey might have asked would have been whether others knew of the offense, whether their silence constituted conspiracy to obstruct justice, or whether those who accepted the restitution did so, as the Penal Code says, "upon an agreement or understanding, express or implied, to . . . conceal crime."

Instead, Dewey, in his report of April 9 to the court, passed the buck to the Securities and Exchange Commission. "This memorandum," he wrote, "does not purport to state or evaluate the responsibility, if any, of the authorities or members of the New York Stock Exchange for permitting Richard Whitney and Company to continue in business, or the time when they acquired knowledge of its financial condition. This matter is the subject of an investigation in progress by the Securities and Exchange Commission." But inquiry into possible violations of the New York Penal Code was not the job of the SEC, as the latter was quick to point out.

Could it be that Dewey accepted at face value Whitney's statement to the press that none of his partners, business associates or connections had any responsibility or participation in his wrongful acts? Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, upon his resignation as a public representative on the Board of Governors of the Exchange on December 15, 1938, declared that "in the hearings before the SEC there was evidence tending to show that members of the Exchange or their partners knew of Richard Whitney's criminal conduct or of the condition of his firm some months before its failure."

Hutchins' resignation was prompted by the refusal of the Board of Governors of the Exchange to examine the responsibility of those who had possible knowledge of Whitney's illegal actions. Among those mentioned in the SEC hearings were, in addition to brother George Whitney, E. H. H. Simmons, chairman of the gratuity-fund trustees, Roland L. Redmond, Exchange counsel, Blair S. Williams, a member of the Exchange's Business Conduct Committee, Charles R. Gay, president of the Exchange, and Thomas W. Lamont, who testified that he loaned $1,022,000 to George Whitney in November, 1937, knowing that the loan was to enable Richard Whitney to return securities he had taken illegally from some organization of the Exchange.

Both Attorney General Bennett and District Attorney Dewey, in disposing of the most spectacular scandal in the history of the Stock Exchange with amazing haste, did not fully discharge their duties. Without the SEC investigation neither their failure to indict Whitney for the gratuity-fund swindle, nor the connection of prominent Wall Street men with the affair, would be known to the public.

Dewey has claimed that he reduced the annual cost of his office from $1,150,000 to $892,000. He failed to report that $180,000 of this was saved by the employment of 60 extra policemen whose salary did not appear in the account. Dewey also enjoyed the help of 25 accountants on the pay roll of the Federal Work Projects Administration. His frequent use of guilty pleas, responsible for fewer court trials than conducted by his predecessor, William C. Dodge, is another factor which explains his "savings."

It should also be remembered that Dewey was paid from public funds while campaigning for the governorship of New York from late 1939 until June, 1940, and for the Republican nomination as presidential candidate in 1940. It has been estimated that three men in his office, with combined salaries of $20,000, spent all their time handling Dewey's personal publicity. Gibbs and Bainbridge, in the article already mentioned, calculate that Dewey's campaign for the Republican nomination cost the taxpayers about $500 a day. This helps to offset the approximate $1,000,000 which Dewey claims to have saved the city while in office.

Nobody will deny that Dewey did an excellent job in temporarily ridding New York of its worst gangsters and racketeers. But close scrutiny suggests that this was done at a cost, in terms of civil liberties and human rights, which a free society may not wish to pay.

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Dewey as Governor

AFTER 21 MONTHS as Governor of New York, the Dewey score is: no hits, no runs, one error. Compared with the Lehman-Roosevelt-Smith era, Dewey has made a good Class-B Governor. This is not to say that he has been incompetent. As his ardent admirers proclaim throughout the land, he has done a satisfactory administrative job. But it has been a job of carrying out laws for which his Democratic predecessors did the pioneering.

Much has been made of the fact that all Dewey's appointees have been able, honest men. In this respect he is no different from the three Democratic Governors. They, too, appointed competent men and their administrations were free of scandal.

The key to Dewey's almost blank record at Albany is to be found in the single, fixed political tenet which has governed his actions since he became a national figure: Do nothing, say nothing and think nothing that will in any way injure the chances of winning the Republican nomination and becoming President. To this principle he has been completely faithful.

Judged by these standards, Dewey's tenure as Governor has been an overwhelming success. Since he regards the State Capitol only as a stopping-off place, he has also found it expedient to abandon the spectacular way of life associated with his career as District Attorney. With the aid of skillful press agents, he has tried to portray himself as a mature, well balanced young executive who has managed the affairs of the Empire State in an orderly, harmonious fashion.

This was not difficult. The fact is that state business is of such relatively minor import these days that the state could pretty much run itself. Indeed Warren Moscow of The New York Times observed after the 1944 session of the legislature had adjourned that except for approving a budget and soldier-vote law, its skimpy record offered the best argument as to why state legislatures ought to meet biennially.

While running the affairs of New York State, Dewey has always kept his eye on the national scene, despite his remark, when asked if he was seeking the GOP nomination, "I am occupying myself wholly and exclusively in administering the affairs of the state of New York period close quote." Sometimes reporters wonder if he did not have a double meaning.

By this ruse, Dewey was able to keep aloof from the important controversial issues that troubled a nation seeking early victory and lasting peace. It was the kind of "I am minding my own business" approach that pleased conservatives and kept isolationists hopeful.

As he subtly wooed the nation's tories, Dewey took great pains, in running the state government, to avoid public controversy. He was going to show the world that he was no Henry Wallace or Wendell Willkie. No one could say, despite his age, that he was a dreamer or a special pleader for the workingman. He entertained no fancy ideas of race equality. He was no cosmopolite ready to abandon America's "interests" to Great Britain or Russia. No milkman for the Hottentots was Thomas E. Dewey—and his Albany record showed it.

Informed Albany political observers have been inclined to look upon Dewey's reputation as something of a myth. In part this may be explained by the strained relations between the Governor and the press, which became particularly acute several times during the early months of this year. Among themselves the reporters try hard to be objective. Yet not a single veteran reporter would claim that Dewey has distinguished himself.

They understand the picture he will attempt to paint during the campaign. He will point to orderly, harmonious Albany compared with upside-down Washington. But Albany has been quiet and even dull because the Governor refused to push for a bold program, *e. g.*, to meet rocketing prices, declining race relations and juvenile delinquency, to mention only a few issues on which the state could have acted. Moreover, Washington was fighting a war; Albany was isolated from it.

Whatever the final appraisal of Dewey's record at Albany, from the very beginning of his administration he faced a dilemma because of his ambition to become President. Though he was the first Republican Governor in 20 years, he could not, even if he wanted to, reverse overnight the socially useful laws to which New Yorkers had become accustomed.

On the other hand, shrewd political tactician that he has become, Dewey was fearful lest his administration be stigmatized in the nation's reactionary circles as following too closely in the footsteps of his predecessors. He resolved the difficulty by deciding to undo nothing, but also to innovate nothing.

Dewey also understood that with Roosevelt as his possible opponent he could not expect to make much of a dent in the liberal front. Therefore, he had to show conservatives by some gesture—not too sharp, yet one whose meaning would not be lost—that he was really heading in the "right" direction.

The first opportunity presented itself in the $163-million state surplus. This was a bonanza for his press agents and they boasted of Dewey's fiscal policies from coast to coast. Yet the fact is that half the state surplus was left by former Governor Lehman. It was made to appear a Dewey surplus on the records by moving the 1943-44 fiscal year forward from July to April, thus capturing about $80 million.

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It should also be remembered that war conditions during Dewey's governorship have raised tax receipts and decreased expenditures. Dewey was favored, in addition to receiving extraordinarily high tax receipts, by some unexpected windfalls. Unusual activity in the stock market brought in $2 million in transfer levies. Another $9 million was the immediate result of an OPA order in early 1943 that no gasoline rations would be given to those who let their licenses expire. The Dewey administration's income from race-track betting amounted to some $11 million. And Dewey did not need to spend. Relief has disappeared because of full wartime employment. Construction and repairs of state utilities have been almost completely cut because of lack of material and manpower.

Aside from this much-heralded contribution to sound state finance, Dewey followed, with more or less regularity, the same sort of contradictory policies in state affairs that have characterized his attitude on national affairs. He was trying, somewhat awkwardly, to imitate the President's method of playing both ends against the middle. It's no secret in Albany that Dewey greatly admires Roosevelt's skill and has carefully studied his technique.

Dewey has tried to operate on two levels:

For the Benefit of Liberals.—His associates tell the world that he is broad-minded. Proof: he relies heavily on several Jewish advisers. George Z. Medalie, lawyer, was his political mentor. Roger W. Straus, new Republican campaign vice-chairman and head of the American Smelting and Refining Company, advises him on race relations. Charles D. Breitel is his brilliant legal counsel. Arthur H. Schwartz, attorney and former law-school instructor, is New York State Republican campaign director.

Negroes are reminded that Dewey has appointed several of their race to important posts. For example, Justice Francis E. Rivers, of New York City Court, is the highest-salaried Negro jurist in the country, earning $17,500. C. B. Powell, publisher of the Republican Amsterdam News, was appointed to the state boxing commission. Later he was made assistant GOP national publicity director. There have been other appointments.

Labor is told how fortunate it is that Dewey never scrapped the state's industrial relations laws, despite pressure from business sources. He takes credit for the state's low strike record, claiming that his boards worked out reasonable settlements. He makes a big point of the Bleakley-Stichman investigation into workmen's compensation abuses. (Actually it was started by Governor Lehman. Lehman made it a policy to appoint Republicans or persons without partisan interests to conduct his special investigations; rarely if ever a Democrat. Dewey's policy is always to appoint an outstanding Republican; rarely if ever a nonpartisan or a Democrat.)

Dewey also claims some share of credit for the very promising school on labor-management relations to be opened next year at Cornell University. (Irving M. Ives, Assembly majority leader and liberal Republican, was largely responsible for the Cornell plan. Ives hoped, as a result of his specialization in labor relations, that he would be the Republican choice to oppose Senator Wagner. Dewey turned thumbs down. Instead he hand-picked his reactionary Secretary of State, Thomas J. Curran. Curran opened his campaign with a blast at the CIO-PAC. He is counted upon to bring a sizable downstate Irish vote to the ticket.)

For the Benefit of Tories.—Dewey is not a man to act with gusto. But on this side of the fence his bolder self more often comes to the fore.

His record during the last year has been a preview of the sort of national administration he might give the country, particularly in his handling of two basic issues: the soldier vote and anti-racial discrimination.

On the soldier vote, while still professing not to be a candidate, Dewey stepped directly into the congressional debate on the federal ballot by siding with the states'-righters. He argued that a federal ballot which did not include the names of all local candidates would be unconstitutional.

This was followed by a Dewey-recommended servicemen's law as cumbersome and unwieldy as any in the country. Unlike the Republican Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, who did everything in their power to ease soldier-vote requirements, Dewey's law put numerous obstacles in their paths. While Pennsylvania and New Jersey sent the ballots directly without application, New York required the serviceman first to make application for a ballot. The application then had to be entered in the War Register of the particular county in which the GI lived. The local board of elections then mailed out a ballot. If the serviceman should not get his state ballot, it was ruled the federal ballot would not be counted. The ballots must be returned four days before election. Overseas Red Cross, USO and Merchant Marine were completely disfranchised.

Dewey understood the various alternative methods of simplifying servicemen's-vote requirements. But with him, unlike the other Republican Governors, it was a practical matter. A large majority of New York's 800,000 eligible service voters came from New York City. This meant a sizable pro-Roosevelt vote. Since probably only half the GI's would vote in any case, a federal or simplified state ballot might mean some 400,000 uncertain votes. New York elections have been settled by as little as 64,000 majority (this was Lehman's margin over Dewey in 1938). With New York State's 47 electoral votes of strategic importance, it was not a good risk to hand over to the President a large bloc of GI votes. The long-run effects

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on his political career would have to take care of themselves; now under Dewey's law only 25 percent of New York's servicemen are expected to vote. Only about 50 percent of the eligible voters have even sent in applications.

Dewey claims to plead the cause of small business. But as Governor he recently signed the Coudert-Mitchell law which makes it practically impossible for minority stockholders to redress their grievances against the directors of large corporations. The law provides that no stockholder may bring suit against corporation directors unless he owns at least five percent of the outstanding shares of such stock or at least $50,000 worth of it, or gives bond for possible costs to the defendants. This requirement makes it very difficult for small stockholders to appeal to the courts. Ostensibly designed to make so-called "nuisance suits" impossible, a form of suit for the personal profit of individuals, the law actually curtails the power of the small stockholder to uncover fraud and bad faith on the part of corporation officials to whom he entrusts his savings. It makes the small stockholder, as the American Investors' Union puts it, a "second-class corporate citizen."

In his anxiety to win the Republican nomination, Dewey decided to gamble with the important issue of combating racial discrimination. Two weeks before the legislative session ended, his own State Committee on Discrimination in Employment submitted to the Governor's office two recommendations in the form of bills. One would have created a state Civil Rights Bureau in the Attorney General's office; the second would have created a Fair Employment Practice Commission in the Labor Department.

Dewey was somewhat surprised at the presumption of one of his committees' recommending legislation, but he listened politely to a delegation of its members early in March and promised his earnest consideration. About a week later the Governor's office turned the bills over to Senator Arthur Wicks, a leading Republican, for introduction. But Wicks was given to understand that the bills were not to be pushed, merely presented. When reporters queried him a few days later, Wicks, bewildered, said he was still "studying" the subject.

It soon became apparent that Dewey was scuttling the two bills. Pressure began to mount. The liberal press took up the cry and hundreds of messages urging passage were received at the Governor's office. Still the word went out to the Legislature, "no go." Finally, on the day before the session ended, Dewey sent a special message explaining his great concern over the discrimination question, but suggesting the best thing to do would be to appoint a special legislative committee further to "study" the whole situation—and report back next year.

Republican legislative leaders were considerably embarrassed by the whole business, but their hands were tied. An uproar arose from Negro groups. The only explanation given was that the bills were presented too late for consideration by the Legislature. The result was that eight members of Dewey's state committee resigned in protest.

When Dewey tried to appoint a 23-man committee of legislators and laymen to "study" the discrimination problem further, he hit a snag. There had been three state inquiries into the subject in the last seven years. After several months' delay Dewey finally got a committee together.

Many were puzzled as to Dewey's attitude, particularly in the light of the numerous well publicized outbreaks of violence and racial vandalism throughout the country. But the answer is not hard to find. At the very moment these bills were under consideration, Dewey's personal emissary, Lieutenant-Governor Joe R. Hanley, was down South trying to win support for Dewey's nomination at Chicago.

This is probably the only instance in which Dewey's appeasement of tory groups backfired. The Negro press has referred to Dewey's action time and again, frequently warning that it may be the one error that will lose the game.

There was another instance in which Dewey had a head-on clash with liberal and labor groups. This was in his effort to curtail state aid to education. In his 1944-45 budget Dewey proposed a cut of $7,800,000. For nearly a month he was adamant. He had his own budget director make a "survey" which largely seconded the Governor's recommendations. But the pressure was too great. A week before adjournment he reversed himself, restoring approximately $7,300,000.

Like other good politicians, he rewarded his friend J. Russel Sprague, Republican boss of Nassau County, by signing a bill creating a new state judicial district. This would permit the appointment of two Republican State Supreme Court justices. Bar Association opponents of the measure said it was "packing" the courts. Out of this deal Sprague also gets what amounts to about $100,000 worth of patronage for distribution. Dewey also made much of the investigation of the $18-million workmen's-compensation racket. But he was publicly silent at the news that Secretary of State Curran's law partner was retained by several hundred doctors, allegedly involved, to defend them at a handsome fee.

If much about the Dewey administration was artificial—his reforms, his surplus, his special "studies"—at least his relations with the Legislature were genuine.

On the whole, New York's legislators are a cynical worldly-wise lot. For 20 years, with one exception, the Republicans have been in control. They weathered the entire New Deal storm and three Roosevelt landslides. A Dewey-Bricker victory, to them, would only mean making their control a little firmer and bringing some federal patronage to the state.

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From the very beginning the legislators were skeptical of Dewey. They feared his aspirations and the reports from his former associates that he was a miniature tsar. But they were willing to give him a chance. Highly individualistic, accustomed to battling with the Democratic Governors, they kept their fingers crossed.

Today there is scarcely a leading Republican (even more than the Democrats) who will not acknowledge that his worst fears have been confirmed. Between Dewey and the Legislature there has developed a fine, intense and expanding hatred.

Yet little of this bad feeling has manifested itself in public. On the surface harmony prevailed. Dewey's meager program was put through in record time. He praised the members for their understanding and cooperation. Albany good-fellowship, contrasted with Washington "bickering," has been hosannaed throughout the land.

There were some minor episodes that almost shattered the harmony. In the opinion of the legislators, Dewey was too aloof, unwilling to take them into his confidence, and too inclined to insist on even the most trivial matter as "must" legislation. In fact not a single major proposal was introduced or passed that Dewey had not approved of in advance.

One miniature blow-up came when Dewey decided to invest $25,000,000 of the state surplus in war bonds. The leaders were sensitive to his unwillingness even to consult with them on so non-controversial a matter. But they had no alternative except to go along.

Another instance came during debate on a relatively unimportant New York City bill. Introduced by Dewey's friend, State Senator Frederic R. Coudert, it would have placed administrative control in one man, a superintendent of schools, instead of a nine-man board of superintendents. The teachers' lobby opposed it and went all-out to beat their long-time enemy, Coudert. With great diligence they buttonholed member after member and received commitments against the measure.

Coudert, in turn, went to Dewey. Promptly several legislators were summoned to the Second Floor (locale of the executive chambers) and told how to vote. If they appeared recalcitrant, Dewey's associates immediately went over their heads to the county bosses.

At five o'clock in the morning on the final day of the session, the bill finally reached the Assembly floor. It appeared doomed, until the Speaker ordered the sergeant-at-arms to round up all absent members. One assemblyman, who had pledged to vote against it, was found hiding under his desk. The measure finally passed by one vote—but not until a Buffalo lawmaker, from the bailiwick of Boss Ed Jaeckle, rose to vote "aye," ostentatiously holding his fingers to his nose.

Dewey's personality and his determination to run the show single-handed all helped to account for the unsatisfactory relations with the Legislature. But more than any of these factors was another even more irritating element. When he came to Albany, Dewey had a reputation to maintain. Not only must he appear a good administrator, but also an active partisan of clean government, opposed to bossism and corruption.

For some time Dewey tried to convince the legislators that his interests and theirs were not irreconcilable. They were dubious. When he was elected Governor, some feared and others assumed that this would be a lush field for a prosecutor to work in. But when he did not act so promptly as some had expected, many of the boys were convinced he intended to adjust himself to conditions as he found them. They breathed more easily.

But Dewey's hand was forced. He had started his investigation of alleged Albany County corruption by the Democratic O'Connell machine. The O'Connells, in turn, retaliated with an investigation of alleged Republican legislative corruption, instituted by their own district attorney.

The turn of events became frightening. One wintry morning the Republican leaders marched to Dewey's office—to implore that he protect their good names. Dewey obliged. He superseded the O'Connell district attorney and appointed Hiram Todd, a well known New York attorney, to investigate the Legislature!

For a while those who did not know Todd assumed that he would do a neat whitewashing job. Then it became evident he was serious about his work. The legislators cried "Double-cross." Rumors went around that only Democrats would be indicted. But Todd fooled them again, and his first indictment was against a Republican ex-senator. Meanwhile Dewey sat back grinning. He had a potent weapon. His program was a cinch for early passage while the inquiry was on.

Finally in desperation the boys, both parties acting unanimously, decided to take things into their own hands. The Legislature voted an investigation of itself! With due solemnity a joint committee was set up, $35,000 appropriated and Arthur H. Schwartz hired as counsel. Meanwhile Todd's first case resulted in an acquittal.

Now it seems that everything is going to turn out all right. Schwartz, whom the boys hired to "investigate" themselves, has himself been appointed state manager of Dewey's campaign by Boss Jaeckle. Jaeckle is a key figure in the Governor's machine.

Albany, of course, is only a preview. As President, Dewey might fight for rigid curtailment of big business, strict price controls, a permanent FEPC, federal aid to education, and even maintain cordial relations with Congress as he eliminates the pork-barrel and ends log-rolling.

But if he returns to Albany next year, it looks as if he is in for a rigorous life. Many legislators have told Albany correspondents that they will tear him to pieces. In turn, Dewey's adherents say he will send half of them to the penitentiary.

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Dewey's Record on National Affairs

MR. DEWEY has had plenty of occasion to observe and discuss the policies of the American nation. He has twice been a candidate for Governor of New York in a period when state elections hinged in great part on national politics. In both 1940 and 1944 he has been a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, and as a Governor with hope of achieving that nomination, has been continually in the public eye. What can we learn from his speeches concerning his views on national policy?

His International Views

In 1940 Mr. Dewey was a thoroughgoing isolationist. At least he was in Wisconsin, where, on March 28, he said, "It is imperative that we shall not become involved directly or indirectly in foreign wars. We know we cannot possibly remain strong and free unless we reject every entanglement in the affairs of Europe." Again, on May 27, in Dallas, Texas, he spoke of a "solemn determination" of the American people not to become entangled in any future European conflicts, and added, "I, for one, stand by that decision." On the eve of the Republican convention in June he said, "We must continue to work for peace, avoid foreign entanglements, work for closer relations between the nations of the Americas, resist every effort at military, economic or ideological penetration of this hemisphere, extend to the victims of aggression all proper aid, but steadfastly refuse to send American forces to Europe."

It will be seen that by this time Mr. Dewey was in favor of "proper aid," though it was uncertain what he meant by that term. When the President proposed Lend-Lease, he commented, on January 10, 1941, that the administration bill "would bring an end to free government in the United States and would abolish the Congress for all practical purposes." On February 12, after relatively unimportant amendments had been made in the bill, he announced that he hoped it would be adopted. Apparently he had heard from the non-isolationist elements in his party.

Even before this, however, he had attempted to ride horses going in opposite directions. In April, 1940, he had said, "We cannot be disinterested in the fate of the world. Nor do I believe that the United States can so isolate itself that it will not be seriously affected for better or for worse by what happens in other nations." A year later he may have found the fight becoming too hot. At any rate, he lapsed into silence in the months before Pearl Harbor, giving as his reason that he had accepted the chairmanship of the USO drive and must take care not to inject it into politics.

During his isolationist years Dewey did more than talk. He supported C. Wayland Brooks, the isolationist candidate of The Chicago Tribune, for election to the Senate, and Senator Hiram Johnson of California.

Even in 1942, though he opposed Representative Hamilton Fish, he said that he did so, "not for his views, but because of the misuse of his office by friends he has had." In December of the same year the Dewey-controlled delegates on the Republican National Committee supported the isolationist Frank E. Gannett for its national chairman.

After Pearl Harbor Mr. Dewey's public utterances veered toward international coöperation. In June, 1942, he admitted, "We know that a powder train lit in Manchuria can explode years later at Pearl Harbor. We know that a powder train lit in Czecho-Slovakia can explode off our own Atlantic Coast." The New York State Republican platform of 1942 is usually cited by Dewey's supporters as proof of his final rejection of isolationism. The plank in question reads: "The United States must be prepared to undertake new obligations and responsibilities in the community of nations. We must coöperate with other nations to promote the widest international exchange of goods and services, to broaden access to raw materials, to achieve monetary and economic stability and thus discourage the rampant growth of nationalism and its spawn, economic and military aggression." Of course Wendell Willkie had long been active in putting pressure on the Republicans for a positive international stand, and the Willkie supporters claimed credit for having compelled the convention to adopt this plank.

On September 5, 1943, at the Republican conference on Mackinac Island, Mr. Dewey advocated an Anglo-American alliance. The conference subsequently adopted a declaration "for responsible participation by the United States in postwar coöperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to obtain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world." The Republican platform of 1944 took substantially the same stand. On the basis of his Louisville speech, Mr. Dewey may support the concrete plan being elaborated at Dumbarton Oaks.

Many Americans who were isolationist before Pearl Harbor subsequently came around to full participation in the war and postwar international coöperation. Mr. Dewey cannot be blamed for any lack of patriotism in having made the same shift. It must be admitted, however, that both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie were far ahead of him all the way, and that on this issue he followed public opinion rather than led it. He failed to take the risk of antagonizing the substantial isolationist faction in his party until a choice became inevitable.

A similar shift in Mr. Dewey's opinions also occurred in regard to the relations between this country

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and the Soviet Union. As late as January 20, 1940, he said that while the administration had met approval in its foreign policy so far as it had "stayed upon this path laid out for it by the Republican Party . . . a conspicuous and most unfortunate departure was the recognition by the New Deal of Soviet Russia. . . . We need no such partnership. With the world as it is today, we can afford no more fuzzy-minded departures from the established course of our foreign policy." Four years later, however, he seemed not only to have changed his mind, but to have forgotten the very words he had used. Addressing the American Newspaper Publishers' Association on April 27, 1944, he said, "It would be stupid to ignore the fact that during the twenty-four years between the Soviet Revolution and the German attack on Russia our relations were not of the best. There were faults on both sides. If, after the war, we relapse again into the old suspicions, the future is indeed dark, but there has been a genuine improvement growing out of our partnership."

This was a partnership which Mr. Dewey had previously said we did not need. He had been active in promoting the very suspicion which he now deplored. Many Americans have changed their minds about Russia, and there can be nothing but praise for a man who will admit a former mistake. Nevertheless, in this matter also Mr. Dewey was a follower rather than a leader. The President whom he wishes to supplant was right when he was wrong.

His Domestic Views

Thomas E. Dewey's attitude on domestic affairs shows a similar readiness to please all those who may be important at election time. In the campaign of 1940 he had apparently made up his mind to attack the administration chiefly on foreign policy while conciliating its labor and farmer support on domestic issues. He accepted the thesis that it would be unpopular to attack the aims of the New Deal, though its method of achieving these aims might be criticized. For instance, he supported social security, unemployment relief, efforts to provide jobs for everyone who wished to work, and constructive labor legislation. In the case of agriculture he favored price parity, payments for soil conservation, conversion of submarginal land to more economic uses, crop loans to provide for orderly marketing and increased use of farm products in industry.

Courtesy of CIO-PAC

At the same time that he seemed thus to be endorsing the New Deal, he attempted to enlist the support of those who opposed it. He did this by generalities like the following:

> Stop following policies going in different directions. Stop being halfway for a sort of creeping socialism and halfway for private enterprise.
>
> Stop government policies which discourage the job-making business life of the nation.
>
> Stop bureaucratic interference with the management of honest business.
>
> Put an end to government policies of defeatism, of ill conceived experiments, of frantic improvising in domestic and foreign affairs.

In view of these statements it is ironical to read a letter which Dewey wrote to Corrington Gill, then Assistant Administrator of the Federal Works Progress Administration, on April 7, 1938, when he feared the loss of 25 WPA accountants attached to his office of District Attorney. "I am gravely concerned," Dewey wrote, "at the possibility of interruption of the WPA project now attached to this office. . . . The discontinuance of the project would be nothing short of a calamity in the administration of criminal justice." Dewey then states that his prosecutions "would not have been possible, with one exception, without the tremendous volume of accounting labor expended in each." He closes his letter expressing his "sincere hope that authority for the continuance of the project can be procured." All this at a time when Dewey and his party publicly attacked the WPA as the chief scapegoat of "New Deal bureaucracy."

Mr. Dewey has never failed to pass out compliments to private enterprise. Even during the war he has given it the credit for the entire war effort. In May, 1942, he said, "Private enterprise is producing on its own initiative and, in instances, with its own money, the machines with which to win the war. These achievements of private enterprise are being accomplished in spite of a blundering and obstructive administration at Washington." If Mr. Dewey does not even admit the value of governmental planning in a war economy, what will be his attitude toward our postwar economic problems?

His tendency in this matter may be hinted by his statement of November, 1943: "When this war is over, we shall still be the same people living in the same homes, working at pretty much the same jobs. . . . In New York State we are doing our planning with no

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effort to find the nonexistent magic formula. . . . That is the way it will have to be done, community by community, industry by industry."

Recently Mr. Dewey has been riding hard the Republican hobby of states' rights and local self-government. He talks as if there should be even less national planning than there is now, and more authority exercised by state and localities. Just how the post-war problems of a great industrial nation can be solved by this formula, where the activities of commerce and industry are not only nationwide but worldwide, it is a little hard to see.

On the question of governmental intervention in general, Mr. Dewey is apparently trying to go in two directions at once. In May, 1942, he said, "I do not believe in reverting to the theory of laissez-faire, nor am I willing to go back to the nearer past and accept the creeping collectivism of the past few years." How does he expect to escape this dilemma? His formula is, in brief, that governmental intervention should be of the sort which will strengthen what he calls the "American free-enterprise system." Furthermore, it must be carried on by business men or those who sympathize with them.

This aim is not an impossible one, but Mr. Dewey fails to give it any sharp definition. Just what policies could such intervention follow? Would it mean a fight against monopoly and a strengthening of competitive opportunity? Mr. Dewey does not say, but one would hardly expect that he would choose this course. Does it mean a governmental fiscal policy aiming to expand production and to avoid depressions? Mr. Dewey has given no sign that he is aware of the great controversy which has been raging about this major proposal or even that he has ever heard of it.

He has made at least one statement indicating that he will oppose government intervention of this sort. In an interview in 1943 he said, "One cause of past depressions has been the tendency of government to increase expenditure in periods of economic decline, which raises taxes and thereby accentuates the downward spiral." Of course, the last part of this sentence does not seem to hitch on to the first part, because the whole theory of a compensatory fiscal policy is to increase expenditures in periods of decline without raising taxes.

In another connection Mr. Dewey has favored the use of public works to moderate depressions. How he could do that without increasing governmental expenditure he has never explained. It is certain on the basis of other statements that he favors reduced taxation, especially on business.

It would be interesting, on the eve of the presidential campaign, with freight-rate discrimination an acute issue in the South and West, to hear what Mr. Dewey has to say about the recent Department of Justice anti-trust suit against the American Association of Railroads and the Western Association of Railway Executives, in which it is charged that 47 railroads conspired to restrict free competition in the Western part of the United States. For it was little more than a year ago, in March, 1943, that Dewey, speaking as Governor of New York, in a statement presented for him to the Interstate Commerce Commission by M. P. Catherwood, State Commissioner of Commerce, opposed any change in the present rate structure of railroads.

Identifying the interests of New York with those of the entire nation, Dewey opposed rate changes because they might lead to a further shift of manufacturing plants from New York to the South. The problems of maintaining manufacturing plants in New York and preventing unemployment, Dewey stated, "affect not only New York alone, but the entire nation. New York State embraces over 10 percent of the nation's population, and the national government depends on New York State for 20 percent of its revenue. . . . Industries have located, workers have made their homes *in reliance on the present rate structure*" (italics ours).

"That," writes Marquis W. Childs in The New York Post of August 30, 1944, "is a plea for things as they are, and whatever else you can say about the anti-trust suit, it is aimed at the kind of expansion that must come with the war's end." But removal of restrictions on industrial expansion through governmental intervention, if necessary, as in the present anti-trust suit, is not one of Mr. Dewey's objectives.

Perhaps Mr. Dewey has in mind the encouragement of private enterprise either by imposing higher tariffs or by reducing those which exist. On this matter also he has left us in considerable doubt. In 1940 he opposed Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade agreements as unjust to the farmers. In 1944, though the Republican platform came out for restoring to Congress the tariff-making powers, Mr. Dewey endorsed the reciprocal trade agreements.

The Tardy Advocate

The record tells us little as to what national policies Mr. Dewey will favor. We have been unable to find a recorded instance in which he has been a pioneer in suggesting new measures. Most of his statements could have been made by any one of hundreds of politicians and would never be identified with Mr. Dewey in a guessing contest. His name is not popularly associated with any one outstanding policy or with any special tendency. One gathers that this has been his design. His motto might have been that of Alexander Pope—"Be not the first by whom the new are tried, Nor yet the last to lay the old aside." Apparently he wishes to follow rather than to lead and to be approved by as many conflicting factions as possible. He would be a good model for an animated Gallup poll.

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Dewey and Agriculture

ANYONE who reviews Dewey's recent public-policy statements will probably conclude that the most vague and confusing of all are those relating to agricultural matters. Dewey has said little to clear up the many inconsistencies in the GOP agricultural plank. On July 8 of this year, The Boston Herald published under his signature an article which purported to deal with farmers' problems. Instead of clarifying Dewey's farm thinking, it only added to the general confusion.

In this article, Dewey declares, "The truth is, there never was [an agricultural] surplus. This country has never had a real surplus [of food]." Yet, in 1940, he violently attacked the administration for having permitted farmers to overproduce, and for having failed to reduce the consequent agricultural surpluses. He further states that our people have lacked sufficient money to buy the food they need, but neglects to mention how the GOP intends to supply it. Dewey has made no definite promises to uphold farm prices. He has not explained whether rehabilitation farm credit is to be abandoned, exactly how his party proposes to consolidate all other farm credit or how the GOP would maintain farmers' export markets.

If Mr. Dewey's future agricultural policies are vague, his past record, as Governor of one of our most important agricultural states, is not. There is little indication that Dewey has ever made an effort to study farm problems at first hand. In a letter written just before his election, Dewey assured H. E. Babcock that he would rely on the "recognized heads of the statewide farm organizations" for advice and assistance. In other words, as The National Union Farmer has pointed out, Dewey voluntarily delivered himself into the hands of the state's most reactionary farm leaders. His supporters can scarcely argue that he lacked enough political acumen to know what he was doing.

The "farm leaders" for whom Dewey expressed his respect include members of the Dairymen's League, the New York State Farm Bureau Federation and the State Grange. All three of these organizations are extremely conservative. This is not particularly surprising, as they are composed of the state's richest farmers. They certainly do not represent New York farmers as a whole.

The most important presiding genius of this happy little group is Frank E. Gannett, an ardent Roosevelt-hater. Gannett publishes a string of 28 New York State newspapers. He is also chairman of the executive committee of the Cornell Board of Trustees. His influence spreads far beyond the borders of New York State. In addition to his farm-bloc activities in Washington, Gannett, as is widely known, runs the Committee for Constitutional Government, and several other reactionary national organizations. The CCG is united through certain interlocking memberships to Merwin Hart's National Economic Council and Herbert Hoover's relief committees.

Gannett's committee has formed a welcome point of contact between the NAM and the farm bloc. Before the 1940 election, Joe Pew, Lammot du Pont and Frank Gannett recognized that they were fighting for a common cause. As a result, Pew began to contribute heavily to the CCG. After Roosevelt's reëlection, the Pew-Gannett-du Pont bloc started to prepare for 1944.

Gannett strengthened the NAM-farm-bloc front with the National Food Conference which he called in Chicago last year. Its main purpose was to discredit "price restrictions and government directives," and simultaneously, to publicize the National Farm Committee, a Stop-Roosevelt farm coalition managed by Ralph Moore, one of Washington's slickest lobbyists.

Both Dewey and the old-line farm groups of New York State seem to have fitted neatly into the Pew-Gannett grand strategy. It is no secret that the Old Guard has found Dewey a more acceptable candidate than Willkie; at the same time, the reactionary farm groups have been a valuable weapon for the Pew-Gannett-du Pont machine in its drive to discredit President Roosevelt by wrecking our wartime economy. At any rate, none of Dewey's agricultural policies has gotten out of line with this strategy.

Shortly after his election as Governor, Dewey set up a new front for Gannett and the old-line farm groups of New York State, by creating an Emergency Food Commission. The commission began to spread panic among farmers with its "official" warning of disastrous postwar surpluses and its contradictions of War Food Administration orders. The commission's campaign was a big success. New York State fell short of its war goals.

Last fall Dewey frightened and confused farmers still more by announcing an impending statewide feed shortage. The source of his information was a "survey" undertaken by the Food Commission. Alarmed farmers began to buy oat hulls for dairy ration, and milk production dropped. But the Great Feed Scare fizzled out when ore boats started to bring in a record shipment of grain.

Not long after this, Dewey appointed the State Farm Bureau's President DuMond as his Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets. DuMond immediately began to organize state agriculture against the OPA's price-control program. He declared that all black-market information was to be strictly verboten to OPA officials. "It was all that Berlin could have asked," one state agriculture official observed, "yet

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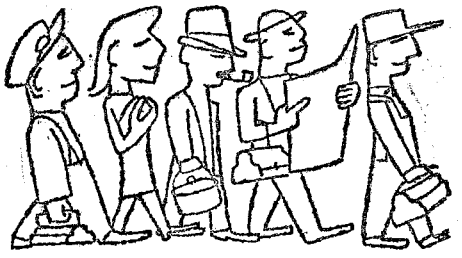
THE ROOSEVELT RECORD



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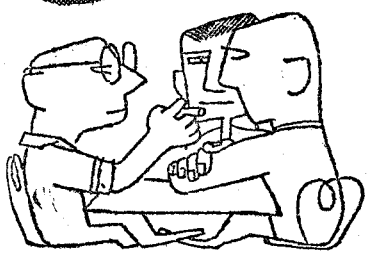

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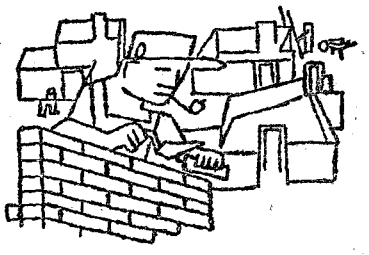

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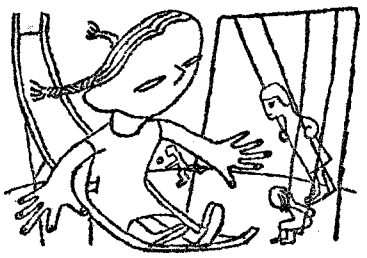
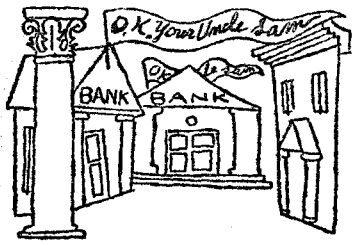


CHILDREN'S "NEW DEAL"

FARMERS' SALVATION



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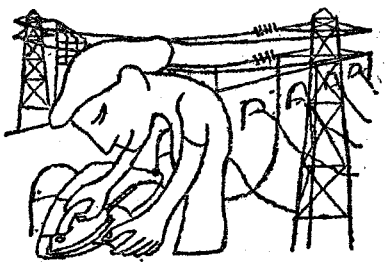

VAST PUBLIC WORKS

The Roosevelt record is one of continual aid to the American people. Under Roosevelt, workers' lines replaced bread lines. Employment rose from 37 to 45 millions. The Wagner Act ushered in collective bargaining. Labor's rights were recognized and protected. Low-cost housing for workers followed. The HOLC saved a million homes.

In the Republican 20's, child labor, slums and sweat shops were rampant. Under Roosevelt, the Fair Labor Standards Act reduced child labor. Slum clearance projects gave the children play space and sunshine. Under the Farm Security Administration, 950,000 small farmers were freed from the shackles of farm tenancy. Climaxed by Hoover, bank failures totaled 5,770. Roosevelt restored confidence, eliminated failures and insured all depositors. "Public works for the people's benefit" said Roosevelt. The New Deal did this. Remember the reduced electricity rates the TVA brought?

Register and vote for

Roosevelt and a Progressive Congress!

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

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there was not one word of restraint or caution from Governor Dewey." When DuMond promulgated the Hudson-Mohawk milk order, he handed a fat plum to the Dairymen's League and other dealer groups, at the expense of farmers.

State farmers finally obtained the passage of a resolution in the Assembly, calling for an investigation of the milk business. But it was stopped in the Senate. Dewey, who keeps all state legislation under his thumb, allowed the bill to die and the milk rackets to go on.

There has been no indication from Dewey that he opposes the new McNary-Haugen bill which has been proposed in Congress by Senators Capper and Shipstead. This bill would empower our national agricultural authorities to resort to price manipulation to improve farmers' conditions; it would probably stymie the efforts of other nations to obtain our manufactured goods in desired quantities; and it would burden farmers with another form of the old, complicated two-price system. One of the bill's worst features is that it would probably favor rich farmers over poor ones.

You may expect that between now and election time, Dewey will bid for farmers' votes with certain definite promises. But his publicity men will have an embarrassing time trying to cover up his actual record. If that record is a true indication, Dewey's agricultural policies would be dictated by the Farm Bureau crowd, and his election would furnish the ultimate victory for which Joe Pew and Frank Gannett have been working hand in glove.

The Men Behind Dewey

Did Dewey win the GOP nomination on the strength of his own political stature and public popularity, or was he maneuvered into it by some of the shrewdest political minds in the Republican Party? If you study his recent campaign, you may be surprised to discover what little difference, after all, exists between the rather colorless District Attorney of ten years ago and the presidential candidate of today. None of Dewey's speeches within the last decade would seem to indicate that he has obtained a broad grasp of the great responsibilities of our time. Not even his friends could honestly claim that he has gained in political personality. But Tom Dewey *has* acquired one asset of inestimable value—a personal machine that can rival any other in GOP history.

Dewey learned the value of political organization at an early stage. He began to surround himself with men of political ability when he was Special Rackets Prosecutor. After his defeat by Herbert Lehman for the governorship of New York State in 1938, Dewey began to devote himself more assiduously than ever to building up a staff of able advisers, and to winning over a large backing of wealth and influence. The Chicago convention furnished sufficient proof of his success. But in order to understand how Dewey got in the GOP saddle, you need a clear picture of the jockeying behind the scenes, the intra-party negotiations that never reached the public, and above all, of the men who have been promoting Dewey.

Perhaps the outstanding immediate characteristic of Dewey's machine is its heterogeneity. It ranges from the Old Guard to the younger members of the GOP. At the risk of oversimplification, you can divide it into two groups: the string-pullers and money-bags who remain in the background, imparting their power and help to Dewey; and the group of advisers who cluster around Dewey to formulate his policies and to carry out his orders.

One of the most important members of the first group is Frank Gannett, mentioned above as chain newspaper publisher and conservative propagandist. The door is always open to Gannett in Albany. According to a recent story in Editor and Publisher, Gannett "comes and goes much more frequently than the general public [is] aware." Gannett is not averse to announcing his intentions. "Personally," he said, "I expect to do everything I can to elect our candidate."

Gannett's various committees form a virtual cartel with those of Merwin Hart and Herbert Hoover. His membership lists read like a Who's Who of isolationists, obstructionists and political die-hards. For instance, there is Louis Taber, who resigned as a master of the Grange rather than drop out of the America First Committee; General Robert E. Wood, former chairman of the America First Committee; and Edward A. Rumely, whose espionage activities go back to the last war, when he bought The New York Mail with German money for German propaganda purposes, and was sentenced to prison.

Louis Taber is also a member of Hoover's National Committee on Food for Small Democracies. Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson are among the foremost living symbols of the Old Guard. Gibson is Dewey's friend and neighbor at Pawling. Dewey and Hoover also have friendly relations. Hoover's National Committee is vital to the reactionary bloc of the GOP.

This cartel of GOP reactionaries seems to have been waging a twofold campaign. Evidently, their first objective has been to back Dewey as the most acceptable presidential candidate the NAM and the farm bloc can find. Their second aim has been to promote a split in the Democratic Party in order to help the Unholy Alliance between Southern Democrats and old-line Republicans. When Harry Woodring started to organize his Stop-Roosevelt branch of the Democratic Party last February, he was joined by several of Gannett's

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committee members and a representative of Colonel McCormick. Some of the fruits of this strategy can be found in the reactionary opposition to Roosevelt which has developed in the halls of Congress.

The Old Guard is well able to provide Dewey with more tangible backing than mere political support. Take the Pew family, for example. The Pews hold a large share of control in the Sun Oil Company, as well as in the Crucible Steel Company and the Philadelphia National Bank. They are one reason why the last Beat-Roosevelt campaign was probably the costliest on record. It is charged that Joe Pew has kicked in sizable amounts to Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, and one might logically assume that he is helping to fill the financial pot of the Republican National Committee. During the 1940 campaign, the Pew, Rockefeller, Queeny, Sloan and du Pont families contributed $432,680 to elect Willkie. They will probably contribute at least that much to elect Dewey.

Some reporters have explained that Dewey has gathered the Old Guard around him for reasons of political expediency. Once elected, they maintain, he would turn away from the reactionaries. But there are signs that the Old Guard is gaining strength within the GOP. Werner Schroeder, who is close to McCormick, is now vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee. James S. Kemper is chairman of the Republican Finance Committee. Kemper is a former president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, who fought Lend-Lease and most of President Roosevelt's other war preparations. This doughty isolationist made a speech three years ago, in which he praised " . . . the America First Committee, headed by that distinguished retired officer of the army, good citizen and able business man, our own General Robert E. Wood." Kemper, now president of the Lumbermen's Mutual Casualty Company and employer of the ultra-reactionary Upton Close, is a close friend of General Wood, Sewell Avery and Silas Strawn, who has been described as a "leading tory lawyer of Chicago." Finally, the 15-man executive committee recently appointed by Herbert Brownell is composed exclusively of old-time cronies of Hoover, Landon and McCormick.

Few Old Guardists have been closer to Dewey than Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms. Mrs. Simms has been in the Dewey cheering section for many years. She managed him during the 1940 campaign. Although Mrs. Simms did some valuable string-pulling then for Dewey, she proved more of a drawback than an asset in the front line. Experienced politicians tended to veer away from Dewey because he was being managed by a woman. But Mrs. Simms has remained an important factor in the Dewey machine since 1940.

The Dewey machine has some shrewd political brains and plenty of fat purses, but it is painfully lacking in statesmanship. Dewey's younger men are clever, but you could hardly find any cabinet material among them. Dewey's Old Guard may find a certain section of the public ready to swallow its hate-Roosevelt propaganda, but the picture of Herbert Hoover back in public life is one that curdles the blood of even many a stanch Republican. The GOP has attempted to resolve this dilemma by boosting as its leading statesman a tried and trusted cartel lawyer, John Foster Dulles. Dulles knows more about world affairs than anyone else in the GOP, and he has been responsible for Dewey's speeches on foreign policy.

The GOP is casting Dulles as Dewey's potential Secretary of State, and billing him as an ardent "internationalist." To fill in the picture, GOP party writers like to remind the public of Dulles' international background. He learned French in Lausanne at the tender age of 14. Five years later, he accompanied his grandfather to the Second Hague Peace Conference, where he served as secretary to the Chinese delegation. His experience in Paris during the formation of the League of Nations has led the GOP to describe him as a Wilsonian. They omit the fact that Dulles returned to America to become a cartel lawyer as soon as war was over.

Unfortunately, foreign travel and diplomatic experience do not necessarily combine to make one an internationalist. The chances are that nine out of ten of the American reading public have no definite idea of what Dulles thinks about international matters. Dulles' own speeches have been almost as ambiguous on the subject of foreign policy as have those of Tom Dewey. In 1939, the GOP's great internationalist declared, in a speech before New York's Economic Club, that "there is no reason to believe that any totalitarian states, separately or collectively, would attempt to attack the United States. Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplates war upon us. These dynamic peoples [the Germans, Italians and Japs] determined to . . . take destiny into their own hands."

As of September 11, Dulles had not yet put forth one specific, workable proposal for keeping the peace; perhaps he will do so before election time.

Dulles' business connections probably provide a better key to his international thinking than many of his speeches. He is a senior partner in Sullivan and Cromwell, the wealthiest firm with corporation law practice in America. According to Life magazine, Dulles is "the world's highest-paid lawyer." His firm handles the business of several international cartels whose properties have been seized by the Alien Property Custodian. One of its leading clients is the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation, the New York branch of an Anglo-German bank with numerous cartel contacts. One of his most recent cases arose in connection with the SKF company, which exported Swedish ball-bearings to Germany. Dulles, who is counsel for SKF, helped to negotiate the agreement by which William Batt took over the shares in SKF Industries, Inc. Actually, Dulles represented both sides, since he was also an adviser to the Alien Property Custodian.

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At Bretton Woods, Dulles is reported to have aided the conservative banking clique which went all-out to attack plans for international stabilization and a world bank. There is no evidence that he opposed a financial alliance between the reactionary bankers in England and their pals in America.

The course of American foreign policy during the next few years may well determine the fate of the world for generations to come, as Secretary Hull has already pointed out. The man selected to guide these policies should be a person of preëminent vision and high integrity.

Those who have followed Dewey's career from its beginning will tell you that his present leadership of the GOP would have been impossible without the tough, adroit political backing of Edwin F. Jaeckle. Dewey and Jaeckle joined forces in 1938. It was brass-knuckled Ed who broke Ken Simpson, after Simpson's one-man revolt against Dewey. Jaeckle is a rough-and-ready political boss who came up the hard way, no holds barred. He got his political start in Erie County, where he was handed the back-tax collectorship by a friend whose election he had engineered. In 1935 he revamped the Republican machine in Buffalo. By 1938, he had established a profitable law practice, and had been made chairman of the state executive committee. The suaver elements of Dewey's machine deplore Jaeckle's methods, but they have not forgotten that he pulled the New York State GOP up by its bootstraps and made it the one of the most effective organizations in the country. Jaeckle recently demonstrated what happens to those who get out of line, when he broke the political career of Representative Joseph Mruk, one of the GOP's most effective younger members. Mruk is an independent liberal who first incurred Jaeckle's wrath when he voted for the federal ballot on the soldiers'-vote bill. Jaeckle refused Mruk a second indorsement on the grounds of his nationality and religion (Mruk is a Polish Catholic).

In comparison with Jaeckle's storm-trooper tactics, those employed by J. Russel Sprague, Republican national committeeman from New York, seem mild indeed. Sprague is one of the brainiest, smoothest men in Dewey's entourage. He does most of his politicking in the social-register sphere. Sprague has been party boss of elite Nassau County since 1930. Nassau is probably the richest county in the United States and a main stronghold of Republicanism. Sprague now holds a $15,000-a-year job as county executive. He has arranged some of Dewey's most valuable contacts and conferences, and served as his pre-convention manager during the last election. His friends say that Sprague could have been campaign manager this year, but that he prefers to work in the background. Hamilton Gaddis, one of Sprague's lieutenants, has an office close to Dewey's in the executive mansion at Albany. Gaddis handles most of Dewey's practical work, including his political patronage. Sprague and Gaddis have the major responsibility for keeping the Dewey machine running smoothly.

When Herbert Brownell campaigned for the New York State Assembly many years ago, Tom Dewey pushed doorbells for him. Brownell is now repaying the debt. The general public doesn't know much about Brownell, beyond the fact that he is Dewey's campaign manager. Reporters consider that he lacks political sex appeal. Actually, he is one of the most effective cogs in the Dewey machine. Brownell and Sprague are quietly building up a strong national GOP organization so that, no matter what happens during this election, Dewey will run the party for the next four years. At the same time, the old-line reactionaries are also extending their front. They don't mind if Tom Dewey remains in titular control, so long as they continue to hold the actual checkreins.

Paul Lockwood, who follows Dewey around like a big, affable Newfoundland, has been a good man-Friday ever since Dewey played gangbuster. Some members of Dewey's inner sanctum suggest that Tom keeps Big Paul around merely for the personal exaltation of hearing a 6-foot, 200-pounder saying yes all the time. Lockwood is a former newspaperman and an indefatigable worker. He helped to organize the New York State Young Republican clubs. He has received a good deal of publicity as Dewey's secretary, and many people regard him as an influential adviser. But Lockwood has less influence than some of the other boys in Dewey's journalistic brain trust.

There is Elliott Bell, for instance, who is an ex-financial writer for The New York Times. Bell is an old-time college chum of Dewey's, and one of his neighbors on Quaker Hill. He gives Dewey advice on economic matters. Bell has been New York State Superintendent of Banks for the last three years.

Charley Breitel, Dewey's counsel, handles most of the legislative fights on the floor of the State Assembly. Whenever a disagreement comes up over a bill which Dewey particularly wants passed, Breitel calls the boys into the back room and gives them a pep talk. He is an indispensable part of Dewey's virtual dictatorship over all New York State legislation.

Jim Hagerty is the son of James A. Hagerty, veteran reporter for The New York Times. He has done a great deal toward making Dewey more presentable to the press. Despite Hagerty's soothing influence, however, most newsmen, as noted elsewhere, still regard Tom Dewey as a lemon.

Among others of Dewey's cohorts are: John Burton, Dewey's budget director, who conceived the plan for the state surplus; Louis Sherwin, who writes Lowell Thomas' broadcasts and also ghost-writes for Dewey; Harold Kellar, a former Hearst writer, who is Dewey's Commissioner of Commerce; and Hickman Powell, who writes build-ups of Dewey for the magazines.

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TO YOU NEW REPUBLIC READERS

A letter from

Captain Hugh Mulzac

The National Negro Congress has asked me to tell you why I support the re-election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

You have read the record of New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for President of the United States. I have also read and carefully studied Mr. Dewey's record. It is a bad record — a very bad record where minorities are concerned.

Now consider President Roosevelt's record. During his terms in office, our fight for full citizenship for all Americans has moved faster than at any time in the past fifty or more years. We have all applauded the fine developments of the past few months. The War Department order of July 5th prohibited segregation and discrimination in all Army facilities — post exchanges, theatres, and transportation. The Navy Department commissioned Negro officers. The quota on Negro nurses for the Army was lifted. These were all part of the Administration's policy, which had already created the Fighting 99th Pursuit Squadron and had increased the number of Negro officers and ranking non-commissioned officers over the pre-war quotas.

These many great advances show that the Administration recognizes the Negroes' willingness to assume responsibility and their ability to fulfill it.

My personal experience is, to some extent, an example of this. It was through the intercession of President Roosevelt that I was appointed to command the *"Booker T. Washington,"* after twenty years of struggle toward that goal. Two more Negro captains are now sailing U. S. merchant ships manned by mixed crews. This is democracy in action. The *"Booker T."* has delivered fighting men and materials to almost every war front. It is a symbol of the promise of American democracy.

That promise is being fulfilled by Roosevelt's Administration. Think back on these measures, and on what they have meant: the Fair Employment Practices Committee; the War Labor Board with its "Equal Pay for Equal Work" order. Think of the guarantee that no one may be excluded because of race, color or creed, from the benefits of the President's many progressive measures, including those of the WPA, Social Security and Unemployment Insurance, FHA, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Labor Relations Act, the Wage-Hour Law, the TVA, the Rural Electrification Administration. This is an impressive record, and we must not forget that it has been of special benefit to the Negro people, because it has given most to those on the lower economic levels.

There is only one road for all Americans to take today in the direction of holding our gains and winning new goals. That is the road of re-electing President Roosevelt, of electing with him Congressmen who will support his policies. We call upon you who would take this road to join actively in the campaign for the election of Roosevelt and Truman.

Capt H. Mulzac

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS IS DEDICATED TO UNITY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR ALL PEOPLE

Give it your support

The National Negro Congress 307 Lenox Avenue New York 27, N. Y.

Max Yergan, *President*

Edward E. Strong, *Executive Secretary*
(On leave with the Armed Forces)

Ferdinand C. Smith, *Treasurer*

Thelma M. Dale, *Acting Secretary*

Mayme Brown, *Director of Organization*

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These are the main personalities who make up the Dewey machine. If Dewey is elected, you may expect to see most of the members of his younger brain trust in Washington. Even though none of them is potential cabinet material, their influence as White House advisers would be considerable.

Far more influential, however, would be the powerful forces in the background who pull most of the strings in the GOP. These are the men who are quietly putting over the deals that might determine the ultimate future not only of political parties, but of the entire nation. They are the old-line reactionaries: the Gannetts, the Pews, the Hoovers, the du Ponts and the McCormicks. They are bound together by one common purpose: to grab political power to implement the economic power already within their grasp. They have overridden party lines, and are forming a consolidated front. Their chief objective is to gain control of America's foreign and domestic policies in a last-ditch effort to block progressivism.

Dewey as President

IF ON THE MORNING of Wednesday, November 8, we discover that Thomas E. Dewey has been chosen as the next occupant of the White House, what sort of administration may we reasonably expect?

Only the naïve will forecast the actions of a President by a study of the national party platform on which he stood for election. Platforms are drafted by masters of generality and evasion. They aim, first of all, to be the greatest common denominator for conflicting interests within the party, and next to attract as many votes as possible by promising everything to everyone regardless of whether the several promises are compatible with each other. The Republican platform of 1944 is no exception to this rule, and has been recognized as such by the more candid Republican editorial writers themselves. About the only light it throws on the real intentions of the party consists in its visible compromises between conservative and liberal elements, which have resulted mainly in omissions and wishy-washy declarations rather than in positive guidance.

Many who have no faith in platforms will look to the campaign statements on public affairs made by the candidate himself. Even these, however, are subject to much the same kind of discount as a platform. As this is written, Mr. Dewey is in the middle of his campaign tour, but what he has said about national issues is disappointingly vague and ambiguous. Most of his attention has been devoted to making wild and fantastic charges, such as that the Democratic administration is afraid to bring the soldiers home for fear of unemployment, or that Mr. Roosevelt, whom the Republicans frequently refer to as having been a warmonger, did not prepare the country psychologically to enter the conflict. It is obvious that Mr. Dewey is trying to corral as many different and mutually hostile groups of voters as he can. His plan of campaign is to avoid positive commitments wherever possible, and thus let the voters read into his speeches agreement with their own predilections.

Another possible guide to the actions of a potential President is to examine his expressed attitudes on public affairs before he became a candidate. In Dewey's case, such an examination shows confused and contradictory attitudes at various times. Many of his changes can be correlated quite closely with changes in popular sentiment as expressed through the polls of public opinion.

The best index to the probable behavior of a President lies in the political forces which have pushed him into eminence. In earlier sections of this supplement, we have discussed concretely who and what these forces are. It is true that even within the party, he tries to appeal to both the liberal and the conservative wings; but there is no doubt that his major allegiances lie with the strongly conservative elements represented by such men as Pew, the duPonts, Gannett and Hoover. While he tries to talk to the progressives as if he were Willkie, he accepts the support of Colonel McCormick of The Chicago Tribune, who certainly would have nothing to do with him if he thought Dewey really intended for a moment to act as Wendell Willkie could do.

A better guide than any of the above considerations would consist in an appraisal of those about the candidate upon whom he leans for advice. Mr. Dewey has his own "medicine-ball cabinet," with the members of which he carefully discusses every move. (They are discussed at length in a previous section.) There is not a single man in this cabinet who has achieved any reputation for knowledge of national affairs. Mr. John Foster Dulles, who would probably be Mr. Dewey's choice for Secretary of State, and who advises him on international relations, is really not a member of this inner group. Most of Mr. Dewey's cronies, as we have pointed out, are people brought from the District Attorney's office or from former campaigns. They are, in the main, publicity men, political strategists or ghost-writers rather than experts on economics, finance or political science. A number of them are on the pay roll of New York State. Their function seems to have been to aid Mr. Dewey in his climbing the ladder of public office rather than to lay out policies which they would like to see the nation follow.

Since a look at the available data leaves room for plenty of speculation, it may not be amiss to register a guess concerning what Dewey is likely to do. There are

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two important areas in which presidential leadership will be essential during the postwar years. One is laying the foundations of future international peace and the other is bringing about a domestic economy that will provide full and steady employment and full production.

Some Republican leaders are now talking as though politics would not be allowed to interfere with the new world organization for peace. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull are doing their utmost to obtain advance agreement. There is no doubt, however, that the Republicans, if Dewey were elected, would take their own line, and that it might be extremely harmful to the cause of world peace. The actual and open isolationists are nowadays comparatively unimportant. More dangerous are those who say that we must wait until the peace treaties have all been signed before we say whether or not the United States should enter into any world organization. There may not be peace treaties after this war, in the old-fashioned sense; and if there are, to wait for them will be too late. Another dangerous group is those who profess to want American participation in a new league, but keep raising Utopian objections to what is being done. These objections arise, not from a real perfectionism, but in the hope that the demand for perfectionism will result in failure.

Would Mr. Dewey want to win over the necessary support in Congress for a new league? And if he did want to, would he be able? On both points, the prospect is gravely disturbing. He has never shown much understanding of the art of persuasion. Moreover, with the Republican Old Guard going isolationist, there is every reason to believe that he will go with them, just as Harding did in 1920. Nobody can for a moment doubt that the chance of American participation in efforts to prevent another world war will be far better with Mr. Roosevelt in the White House than with Mr. Dewey there.

What about the domestic front? Here the outlook under Dewey would be even darker. There is no evidence that either he or his party understands the bases of prosperity or is prepared to take the necessary steps. The Republican Party is the mouthpiece for important industrial and financial interests which in fact demand for themselves special conditions which tend to push the country into one disastrous depression after another—special conditions such as monopoly, excessive prices, low wages, unreasonably low taxes, high tariffs and other forms of privilege. Dewey as President would never stand out against these men. His heart is with them, in so far as his views are known, and in so far as he has a heart that beats for anything except the personal ambition of Thomas E. Dewey. If his policies and those of the power bloc in the Republican Party brought about depression, it is reasonable to suppose that he would do what Hoover did: spend the first half of his term in office denying that the depression existed, and the second half denying that the federal government had any obligation to do anything about it. In summary, Dewey, in spite of his strong self-will and burning ambition, would be the prisoner in the White House of the worst elements in the Republican Party, so far as concerns the two great objectives of our time: prosperity and peace.

3 SUPPLEMENTS on CONGRESS

Each year since 1942 The New Republic has examined the voting records of all members of Congress on key issues and published the findings in a special supplement. "Let's look at the record" had long been a catch phrase in American politics but until The New Republic's first supplement appeared, nobody had ever provided the public with a simple, easy to follow chart that made the record of Congress plain for all to see. The success of the first charts was immediate. They established the yardsticks that were applied in thousands of editorials, columns and broadcasts during the last election.

The voters in November must choose the Congress that will determine the destiny of postwar America. Never has it been so important for them to know the character and stature of the men they elect.

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1944 YOU... and History

THE COURSE of history has been set, but the direction it will take has not yet been determined. That supreme decision will be made next election day.

In the hands of the American voter on that day will rest the most fateful responsibility of our era. The domestic welfare, the nature of the coming peace, the measure of America's influence upon all humanity — these will go into the mold of our immediate history on November 7.

Americans at home, whose 11,000,000 sons and daughters, husbands and fathers are in uniform, are keenly aware of the basic issues in this epochal election. They are keenly aware of the type of leadership America requires to approach and solve these issues. If it were merely a gang-buster they want, then they have now in the White House the greatest gang-buster of all time — the man who has led the democratic peoples of the world in the breaking up of Hitler-Mussolini-Hirohito Murder, Inc.

But the American people want more than gang-busting. They want more than Sphinx-like leadership. The next few months will mark the beginning of applied solutions to the surging problems around us. Unemployment, inflation, growing instability — these may threaten America from within. Starvation, ruin, hatred — these may arise from the protracted torture of war-devastated lands all over the globe.

More than ever during the next four years, America in its entirety, and working America in particular, will need leadership that measures progress by human welfare, not by profits only. It will need a leadership that is sincerely and unequivocally committed to international cooperation. It will need a leadership that will stand up and fight for the continuation and expansion of that body of social and labor laws which has stamped the past twelve years of American life as the era of the New Deal.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has fought for and believed in the New Deal. Its 325,000 members and their families know that America has thrived under that guidance, that under it our country has gone forward to victory in both peace and war.

The members of the ILGWU have learned to fear the absence of the New Deal. As workers, as soldiers, as patriots, they have earned the right to demand its continuance. Seeking peace and prosperity, stability and justice, they will express their hopes and signalize their determination on election day. They will vote for Roosevelt and Truman.

ILGWU CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FOR ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN

David Dubinsky, *chairman* • **Luigi Antonini,** *vice-chairman* • **Frederick F. Umhey,** *secretary-treasurer*

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